

BLACK FLAG

ORGAN  OF THE
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL V No. 7 20p

WHO ARE THE REAL CONSPIRATORS?

In the "Persons Unknown" conspiracy case — to which we refer on another page — a blanket of silence has surrounded the charges which are being swapped around all the time. Many of our friends have been bewildered by the events and asked for an explanation which nobody outside the police (or at least, a sinister section of it) has been able to give.

We are able now to expose the bizarre truth behind the alleged conspiracy to cause explosions that never existed outside the minds of the "Anti" Terrorist Squad or which (as Insp. Bradbury said in court) were "unfortunately — I mean fortunately" prevented by too early an arrest.

There have been no terrorist-type crimes in England, or anything which could conceivably have been described as such, within the last five years other than specifically I.R.A. or Arab nationalist attacks, the perpetrators of which have been clearly defined, or the attacks made by fascist organisations upon leftist premises and persons, which the Anti-Terrorist Squad have previously denied was their responsibility and on which the police force as a whole have not acted.

It may seem incredible but it seems the Anti-Terrorist Squad were contemplating trying the trick of the Italian secret police in the case of Valpreda. **Certain elements thought it would get the fascists off the hook if they could pin the blame for these fascist attacks upon anarchists.** The lies and political contortions of the prostitute press make it certain that a large part of the public would be conditioned to accept automatically that libertarian socialists would be capable of any crime. The absence of motive doesn't matter when they're the dreaded anarchists!



Iris Mills (Black Box Photos)

These attacks include the bomb at the Conservative Party headquarters (proved long since to be an obvious dummy and a harmless hoax and probably for publicity) the burning down of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters by fascist elements, the arson and damage done to various trade union and Communist Party premises, the parcel bomb at Peace News, and maybe other attacks of a racial nature (though these have not been mentioned by the police) might have been brought in.

The political police, Special Branch, did not agree with this line. Politically wiser they refused to give support to the "Anti" Terrorist squad in such a frame-up. Individual statements by SB officers in private suggests that they are highly embarrassed by the antics of the brute-force and ignorance squad. But the case has already gone forward to the

courts. To save face, certain charges are quietly being dropped and other more plausible ones substituted, like robberies which apparently no-one saw happening. On this we can't comment. But who are the conspirators moving in secret, who tried to get the fascists off the hook, who are part and parcel of the effective government of this country? While MPs and bishops protest against racialism, has the National Front walked into the halls of government — in classical fascist fashion — by the back door?

This is not to play at 'cops and robbers' despite the detractors. It is part of a 'game' of Anarchists and Fascists that has been going on now for sixty years, a 'game' that is being played by the so-called security services everywhere and a 'game' in which no holds are barred on their side.

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Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL.
Printed by Anarchy Collective, London.

We're still having trouble over our mail (yes, the address in Orkney is right; no we don't all come from there), some mail going to long since abandoned addresses, to Anarchy Collective, Centro Iberico etc.

Our apologies for the delay in getting this issue out, but we having trouble once again with the Cienfuegos typesetting machine which looks like it's now going down the road for the last time. It's going to set us back a few bob to replace it — approximately £8000 — with one which will do the work efficiently and well, so if you have any spare cash which you think would be well spent by anarchists acquiring a word-processing machine please send your donation to Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney marking 'Typesetting Fund' — all contributions will be acknowledged.

November 11th as Anarchist Day — after so many years of neglect — got off to a quiet start. But the idea should spread for next year. Some comrades had, we learn from one regional bulletin "quite a heated discussion about whether we should celebrate Nov. 11th instead of May Day." This is a misunderstanding. One is not a substitute for the other. May Day is traditionally workers' day, the day of the red flag. November 11th was (from 1886 until it died out when it coincided with Armistice Day) the day of the Anarchists, the day of the black flag. The two are complementary not opposites.

There is always a conflict about having an anarchist demonstration on May Day anyway — usually one wants to go off on a union procession and propagandise, it's the one day one doesn't want to hive off — though the lead given by London Anarchists on the idea of a social May Day is a good one. There are no such clashes on November 11th. We will give earlier notice about November 11th 1979. Next year it will be international. Once again.

DUBLIN ANARCHIST GROUP

Anarchism has little or no tradition in Ireland. However since the beginning of this year groups have been formed in Belfast, Dundalk and Dublin.

In Dublin we have been active on a number of issues including H-Block, the anti-nuclear campaign and the defence of the IRSP 4. Members are also active in their trade unions, the women's movement and within the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression (TUCAR).

We now hope to open a bookshop and centre before the end of the year. This will cost us £1,300, we have already raised £520 within the group but we need £510 by the end of January. We are asking the international anarchist movement for aid. If you or your organisation can help us, please do so. Please make all monies payable to:

Alan MacSimoin, 49a Leinster Road,
Rathmines, Dublin 6, Ireland.

NEWS FROM CIENFUEGOS

Would all Cienfuegos subscribers please note that the latest issue of the CPAR (No. 4) is due to be mailed out to them during the first fortnight of December. We must apologise for the lengthy delay in getting this issue out, but we assure you that it has been due to circumstances way beyond our control. We are sure, however, that when you see it you'll feel the wait was worthwhile. Every attempt is being made to make sure that the next issue comes out by March 1979, and quarterly after that. With your continued help and solidarity this should be less of a problem than it was last year.

Forthcoming Titles: We had hoped to have a further three titles out before Xmas, but, again due to problems beyond our control, this is unlikely to be the case.

A New World In Our Hearts: The Faces Of Spanish Anarchism, edited by Albert Meltzer (£1.75 + 25p p+p) is in fact printed but bound copies will not be available until late January. **Towards A Fresh Revolution, The Friends Of Durruti** (75p + 20p p+p) and **An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto**, Joseph Lane (75p + 20p), the first two titles in our New Anarchist Library series, are being printed during December and should be sent out to subscribers together with **A New World In Our Hearts** at the beginning of February. **The Guillotine At Work** by Gregory Maximoff; **Zapata of Mexico** by Peter Newell; **Charlotte Wilson On Anarchism, 1886; An Anarchist Manifesto** by Anselm Bellegarrigue; **Scientific Socialism and Anarchism** by Bukharin, Fabbri and Rucker; **The Red and the Black: Anarchism Against Fascism In Italy, 1920-45**; and hopefully **Faceries, Anarchist Extraordinary** by Antonio Tellez will all be ready and out to subscribers by the middle of summer 1979.

Badges: FRIENDS OF CIENFUEGOS badges, with our new logo of a multi-dimensional A with the indestructible and ubiquitous eye of horus peeping over the top (guess who that symbolises!!) in eye-catching red and black will be mailed out to subscribers and supporters only during the course of December. Subscription cards should follow soon after.

State of Play as at Nov. 11 1978 (Anarchist Day)

Printing & typesetting	250.00
Postage	60.00
Stationery	3.00
	313.00
Sales & subs	211.00
Donations*	15.00
	226.80
deficit on issue brought forward	86.20
	1473.42
total deficit —	£1559.62

Donations*

JG (Woolwich) £5; MS (HMP) £3; R.McG (Orkney) £2; TM (Devon) £5. Total £15.

Prisoners/Resistance Fund
SB (Cosham) £6; SS (Guam) £4.08;
Total £10.08. i/h £30.72, Total £40.80
British L ibertarian Prisoners trial £94 —
(£83 Australian ABC, £11 Dublin) passed over.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. The tale of Dick Whittington (and his cat) has delighted generations of children. But the real Sir Richard Whittington (while "thrice Lord Mayor of London") left a far more sinister legacy. What?
2. We all know about Anarchists who tried to kill off the Tsars in the struggle against terror in Russia but was there (just possibly) *one* Romanov whom an Anarchist saved from death?
3. As there is a religious maxim that the Church does not shed blood (*Ecclesia non novit sanguinem*) how did Pope Innocent II get over it, and how (as shown in the Bayeux Tapestry) did Bishop Otho get over it?
4. Which English novelist is more than anyone responsible for the newspaper caricature of the Anarchist — and for which contrasted stereo-typed caricature was he later responsible?
5. The first Chief of the Cheka and later head of OGPU was not originally a Bolshevik. From which party did he come and why was he chosen by the Bolsheviks?
6. Why, if Fagin is supposed to be a Jew, did Charles Dickens give him a typically Irish name?

**Subscription rates for one year: £12.00/
\$24.00.**

Remember that we can only continue our publication programme with your direct support, commitment and solidarity. If you are not already a CP subscriber please send off for a subscription today. Or why not take out a subscription to Cienfuegos for a friend as a Xmas present this year — it beats a pair of socks or a Marks & Sparks jumper again!

Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday,
Orkney KW17 2BL.

Cienfuegos Press Bookservice Now
available: **Libero International (No.5)**,
35p + 15p p+p).

Rengo: The Japanese Peoples Movement and the 1900's 35p (+15p), **Namazu**, No.2 20p (+10p p+p); **Open Road**, No. 8 45p (+10p p+p).

ASTRID PROLL ~ the case against her extradition

The arrest of Astrid Proll gave the media the opportunity to play their usual ideological game. She was described as 'a masculine type woman said to have lesbian tendencies' — purely guesswork by a reporter chosen for the sole purpose of defining her as different from the normal, as defined by them.

"Terrorists" of course could not be "normal" because unless there is something wrong with them, there might be something wrong with what they were attacking.

The manager of the garage at which she was employed, who had ample time to observe her — unlike the reporter who had never met her, but summed her up from a court appearance — is reported to have said, "I'm absolutely shattered. She was a quiet, nice person." And how could a "quiet, nice person" be a "terrorist"?

Why she fled from Germany

Astrid Proll was brought up in Kassel, Germany, the daughter of an architect. After leaving school she went to Art College in Berlin to study photography. She became involved in left wing politics through the 1968 Students Movement, the activity against the Vietnam war, and through working with young people from approved schools in Frankfurt. It was during this period in Berlin that she met other members of the subsequent Baader-Meinhof group.

Her Imprisonment

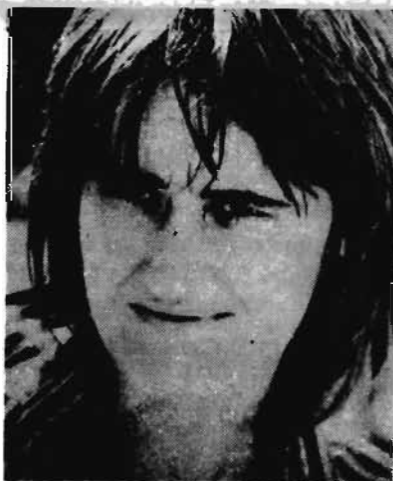
Astrid was arrested in Hamburg in May 1971. She was then held for 2½ years until her trial eventually started in September 1973, in Frankfurt. During this time she was subjected to two periods of sensory deprivation and social isolation in the 'silent wing' of Kohn-Ossendorf prison (November 1971-January 1972 and April 1972-June 1972, a total of 4½ months). When not in this wing, she was held in solitary confinement, for a total of two years — all before any conviction.

The "silent wing" she describes as being buried alive. She was the only prisoner in the wing (it had 6 cells) and absolutely no sound could penetrate into her cell. Her only human contact was the warders who brought her food three times a day. The only daylight was what could filter through a tightly-meshed wire over a window too high to see out of. The cell and its contents were painted in white oil paint, and the bare neon light was often left on for 24 hours.

The charges against her

At her trial, Astrid was charged with two attempted murders arising out of an incident in Frankfurt in 1971.

At the time of writing these are the grounds on which the West German authorities will try to extradite her, though they may also press other charges in connection with bank robbery. In the Frankfurt incident, it is alleged that shots were exchanged when the police recognised and gave chase to two suspects in the street. No one was either hit or hurt. It should be noted that the German police are very ready to claim attempted murder charges. The Chief Attorney remarked in 1967, "If someone is hit with a truncheon by a police officer and disarms the officer and hits him back, they should prepare themselves for a charge of attempted murder." (Source - Verboten 1).



WHAT SHE FACES IF SHE IS RETURNED TO GERMANY

Although the charges against Astrid date from seven years ago, and bear no comparison with recent acts of "terrorism" in Germany, she will still be branded as a "top terrorist" and her new life here is likely to be ignored. She will be linked in the public eye with violent crimes with which she has no connection, and in the current atmosphere of fear and reaction in Germany, there is serious concern about how she will be treated if she returns.

Trial and prison conditions

If returned, Astrid is likely to spend another long period on remand before she is brought to trial. There are substantial grounds for believing that she will not receive a fair trial, given the recent interference in the legal rights of defendants. Special courts have been set up to hear "political cases", which are run by carefully selected judges. The prosecution can now compel defendants and witnesses to make statements without a lawyer present and letters between lawyers and client can be intercepted and examined at the prosecution's discretion. Police have raided lawyers' offices and seized defence documents. Defence lawyers have been banned for protesting at the treatment of their clients in prison, and replacement lawyers refused an adjournment to prepare their case.

We fear that, if convicted, Astrid will receive a heavy and vindictive sentence which will reflect the recent escalation of terrorism, and the current political atmosphere in West Germany, rather than anything she is alleged to have done.

She will also be returned to the same inhuman prison conditions which were nearly fatal to her in 1974. Her circulatory condition is still poor and liable to deteriorate rapidly, as has already become apparent during her few weeks in Brixton Prison. In addition, the new 1977 Contact Ban Law allows the German authorities "after the proper assessment" to deny a prisoner any contact with family, friends, or even a lawyer. Prison visits now take place through a thick glass screen so that no touch or natural sound contact is possible.

Public support for Astrid will be difficult

In West Germany today there has been an increasing erosion of civil liberties so that any protest can be termed "anti-constitutional" and people can be prosecuted for example, for drawing attention to prison conditions. In 1975 two people who distributed leaflets describing the solitary confinement of Baader-Meinhof suspects were sent to prison for six and nine months.

Contd. on next page

Kurt Groenewold, a defence lawyer who attempted to describe his clients' prison conditions, was also brought to trial in a manner that was internationally condemned (by, amongst others, the Haldane Society and the New York Centre for Constitutional Rights).

Members of the public who might be sympathetic to Astrid's case will be inhibited by the fear of losing their own jobs. Under the Berufsverbote (job bans) 1½ million people have been investigated and thousands banned from public service jobs of any kind (including postmen, teachers, train drivers, local government officials) because their "loyalty to the constitution" is in question.

When arrested in London, Astrid said: "I do not expect to survive if I am returned to Germany." Of the early members of the Baader-Meinhof group with whom she is associated, eight have met their death in prison. The others who are now free are living ordinary and peaceful lives; we want Astrid to have that opportunity rather than the threat of illness and death in prison.

"Friends of Astrid Proll" oppose her extradition to West Germany for the following reasons:

- She has spent the last four years in Britain leading a legal and constructive life, and has made many friends who do not want to lose her.
- There are many grounds for believing that she will not receive a fair trial in Germany, given the current operation of the legal system there, as well as events since 1971, in which she has had no part.
- Without being convicted, she has already spent nearly three years in prison, including two years of solitary confinement and four months of sensory deprivation. This experience nearly killed her. We are frightened for her life should she be sent back to Germany.

- Extradition of Astrid Proll would amount to an endorsement by the British Government of the continuing erosion of civil liberties in West Germany.

Astrid Proll will be fighting her extradition by legal means through the courts, and, if necessary, by appeal to the Home Secretary. "Friends of Astrid Proll" wish to publicise her case as widely as possible. We also wish in the event of her being extradited, to create a campaign of international concern and support for her in Germany. We welcome the broadest possible support.

BREZHNEV'S SLAVES

Forced labour continues to be used in the production of raw materials and manufactured products destined for export. Political prisoners are also employed in the lumber industry and all sorts of unhealthy dangerous work done in inhuman conditions.

At present we know of the existence of some 730 camps, jails or asylums used as detention centres for soviet dissidents.

Investigators employ a number of techniques to ferret out such well-guarded secrets. Every factory under construction is serviced by trains with steam locomotives. These trains are controlled by a technical service known as Kotlonadzor. Political prisoners are always used in these new industries so it is possible for Kotlonadzor workers to ascertain where the camps are located, at least in the area of their own operations, as well as the approximate numbers of detainees. This is one source of information. But the only information accepted is that which has been verified. Generally speaking, a first source gives the geographical location of a new camp. A second supplies details of the number of detainees and a third source details of the number of KGB officials in charge of

the camp. Once these facts have been established, the information is regarded as accurate.

A Brief Historical Sketch.

The growing repression and waves of arrests in the Stalinist era (1918, 1929-1938, 1948 - note the 10 year intervals) carried millions of prisoners off to the forced labour camps. The official figure given by the soviet authorities is for 15 million people deported up to 1956.

Regrettably, it has been shown that this figure falls far short of the real one. The White Sea, Volga-Don, Moscow-Volga, Krymsky, Kazakhsky, etc., canals were built by this army of deportees. Beyond the Arctic circle, they dug iron and coal mines (Vorkuta, Inta and Pechora in Kazakhstan; Karaganda, Dzhezkazgan and Kengir in Norlisk, plus Kemerovo and lots of other places). They laid down an immense number of kilometres of railways and roads. Goldmining was expanded at Kolyma, Altai and Bodaibo. Detainees built new cities in the steppe regions and beyond the Arctic Circle . . . Norlisk, Solikhard, Vorkuta, Inta, Igarka, Magada : and so on. During this period the transport and felling of lumber for export and for home requirements was a job for deportees.

From 10 to 12 Million Deportees.

Today, following the recent wave of arrests it is estimated that Soviet political prisoners number between a millions and a million and a half. Non-political prisoners are estimated to number between 8 and 10 millions. As in the past, this vast pool of free labour is utilised for industry and for construction.

Recently these forces were redistributed. The bulk of the prisoners are employed in felling trees, building hydro-electric plants and thermal plants, in furniture manufacture in the diamond mines, and in jobs which are dangerous to the health, like uranium mining and silicate mining.

The Detainees Work in the Export Field:

There are over 100 known concentration camps, specialising in lumber which are profitable concerns. Mikhail Neiburger, a former Red Army trooper who was a guard at a camp in the Kemerovsk district, claims that in 1967 his unit was standing guard at

You can help by:-
affiliating to the campaign, either as an individual or as an organisation making public statements of support for Astrid, passing union resolutions.
sending donations for campaign costs to "Friends of Astrid Proll"
writing to newspapers, MPs, etc., speaking on radio phone-in programmes collecting signatures for our petition putting up posters in your place of work.

FRIENDS OF ASTRID PROLL, 109 Backchurch Lane, London E.1. Cheques to F.A.P. Acct. No. 50062315 Coop Bank, Leman St., E.1.
Letters of support and solidarity to Anna Puttick (Astrid Proll), H.M.P. Brixton, Jebb Avenue, London SW2.

19 camps. Each camp held 400 to 800 prisoners engaged in the lumber business. Neiburger's statement confirms the testimony of Tina Brodestkaya who was deported for her Zionist sympathies and for having expressed her wish to emigrate to Israel. In 1960, she was sent to various camps in the Irkutsk and Kemerovsk districts to fell trees. She joined 500 women who were forced to carry out this exacting work in harsh conditions. Several female prisoners died beneath the snow or were frozen by the cold of the icy steppes. We used to work on rudimentary skis, says Tina Brodestkaya. This situation has remained unchanged and unimproved over the last years. According to the testimony of another former deportee (Valeri Kukui) made in 1975, political prisoners were used to fell lumber for export. Brigades of prisoners would work around the clock — 8 hours for each brigade. The work was carried out in the vicinity of the Novayce Lyalya Railway station.

The network of concentration camps functions still. Another witness, Khain Golan, was not regarded as a prisoner. He was merely exiled to Siktivkar in the north of the USSR for his beliefs. There — he tells us — the law is in the hands of the bears. The deportee's group to which he belonged came to Siktivkar by boat: their only food was raw flour (350 grammes daily) mixed with river water. The exiles lived in cabins without beds, mattresses or blankets; lacking any medical assistance or medicines; with no opportunity to taste meat or green vegetables. They worked and they died. All this has been confirmed by another witness who was an internee from 1953 to 1963. It may be noted how on more than one occasion, detainees chose to allow themselves to die. Anyone who moaned about the work site was shot by the guards: this was an easy way to commit suicide. This camp survivor explains how some prisoners, in despair used to send out macabre messages to the outside world by cutting off their fingers with an axe and lipping them among the chopped lumber. In 1974, some representatives of the Centre for the Investigation of Jails, Asylums and Concentration Camps in the USSR visited the United States to make enquiries with the chief wood importers. These confirmed that they had, in fact, come across a severed hand or fingers in the wood shipments they had received. And when asked by the investigators why they had not made this fact public, the reply was: Business is business.

Every single export industry uses this type of labour. I. Amalgor admits to having worked in the oil fields near

the city of Ukhta. As a geological researcher first, then, later in four production wells. There were over 3000 detainees working under the harshest conditions. The same witness claims that these modern day slaves built the oil pipeline of Chibui and a refinery for military use. Amalgor worked in the export field since the drums he used to be filling bore the stamp USSR export. Next, he was sent to a plant which produced heavy water, again for export. Prisoners in the Mordovia camps work on the production of components for Moskvich and Chaika cars which are also sold on the foreign market. Detainees in Camp No. 24 in the district of Voroshilovgradskaya make boxed candies for export.

Finally, prisoners from Guriev camp on the Caspian Sea prepare the caviar which enlivens society parties. The same prisoners built the outbuildings which were called after Lenin. The factory's current expansion is the work of prisoners.

Women in the Concentration Camps:

The female detainees currently employed on the island of Shikotan, (part of the Kuril archipelago) number 6000; they prepare fish and shellfish for export. These products, highly prized in the West, are unobtainable inside the USSR: they can only be purchased with foreign currency. At the moment it is not possible to assess the number of female prisoners in the USSR. We only know that they are employed for very exacting, unhealthy work like the chemical treatment of electronic components, of which they have to produce an unattainable quantity each day. All for the benefit of the Soviet electronics industry. Like the male prisoners, the women are also deployed in other tasks which are highly profitable to the State. Two camps on the outskirts of the city of Solikhard in the Tryumenskaya region, specialise in working with diamonds. Female prisoners in Bodaibo, Altai, Kolyma and elsewhere are employed in the extraction of gold.

Forced Labour and Top Military Secrets:

Prisoners are even used for top secret military activities. In the south of European Russia, along the Caspian, is Mangyshlak, a peninsula situated in the bay of Kara Bogaz. The region is a desolate one, a desert surrounded by salt marshes, in the middle of the steppes. No one enters the area which is very rich in uranium deposits. Only concentration camps have prospered amid the land surrounded by mines. Thousands of prisoners have met a slow death from handling uranium without the proper equipment. An engineer who worked in these camps recalls the futile efforts of

the prisoners to ease the harshness of this arid land. The director of mines, however, Grigorian, was of the opinion that barbed wire is the most fitting decoration for these places. Zealous comrade Grigorian must stand in favour with the Party: it is hardly likely he will end his days in a camp.

Death Camps

Launches ferry groups of prisoners from Astrakhan and Guriev. The concentration camps amid uranium mines are no isolated phenomenon. Since no one can survive beyond one year, there is a constant demand for manpower. Some of these camps are located near the Ukrainian city of Zheltie Vody. There are another 10 in Vologodskaya district, near Cernovet in the centre of the USSR. It is there that prisoners sentenced to death are sent. Radiation from the uranium is so strong that only a few survive more than 6 months. In each of these regions there is a total of 9000 prisoners at any given time.

In Dubrulag (Moldavia) camp number 10 is distinguished by a severe special regime. In point of fact, it is not a camp but a jail since the prisoners are kept in cells. Inside the prison, there is a glassworks. The air is thick with glass dust and there is no ventilation. Political prisoners work there 10 hours a day, 10 hours during which they breathe the tainted, killing air which surrounds them. After their work is finished they return to their cells near the glassworks, cells which are also impregnated with the same dust.

Prisoners Working on Missiles

Nuclear submarines are built on the Baltic, near Leningrad, in the Kolnimo shipyards on the Black Sea — in the city of Zhdanov — and the Vladivostock yards on the Pacific coast. Bases for these submarines encircle the USSR, from the Wrangel Islands in the Arctic Circle to the health resorts on the Black Sea. The submarines put in there for periodical checks, repairs or to have their missile tubes cleaned out. Who is it that risks his life doing just that? Why the political prisoner of course. Thus there are two camps in Bukhta Rakuskha south of Vladivostock, a camp at Tayra (Kannchatka), two in the north, in the Soverodvinsk naval base, another in the bay of Paldiski, in Estonia and so on. However, we are nowhere near knowing all the sites where the victims of the soviet regime suffer and die.

Prisoners in the Petroleum Industry

In 1975, thousands upon thousands of slave-prisoners were involved in the petroleum industry. A witness spent 10 years in the camps. He worked in different

establishments in the Omsk and Irkutsk districts. As well as in the districts of Ust-Kamenogorsk, Semipalinsk, etc. Then he travelled throughout the USSR, to Siberia, to South Asia, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus and Transcarpathia. Along with thousands of prisoners, A Witness built the Omsk platform with his own hands. Almost 100,000 detainees were employed in its construction.

A witness also had the sad privilege of working on the Angarsk platform in which 10,000 prisoners had a hand, working in temperatures of up to 40° and 50° below zero. Lots of prisoners died of exhaustion or malnutrition.

Nobody Has Lived Longer Than 6 Months At Ukhta

Another political prisoner, I. Amalgor used to work in the Ukhta petroleum wells along with 3000 other political detainees. The work there is so dangerous that no one lives longer than 6 months. Later he helped build an oil pipeline between Ukhta and Chibui where the crude is refined into petrol at a platform erected by other prisoners.

M.K., an engineer who worked in the Guriev area on the Caspian for a while, relates the Guriev district is a huge island in the Gulag Archipelago. He gives a description of the Guriev camps and the camps on the Mangyshlak peninsula where it is prisoners who do all the hard work. In the area around Krasnodarsky, an important petroleum centre in the USSR, there are 35 wells extracting the petroleum. According to one witness, D. Bidzel an ex-prisoner who spent 8 years in the camps there are something in the region of 30 camps in the area, holding at least 30,000 people.

Siberia: Hell 60° Below Zero

Finally there is Siberia, where there are hundreds of camps where the prisoners extract petroleum and where oil pipelines have been and continue to be built. These areas include the Yenisei river, and the territories of Turkhansky and Tyumen.

Prisoners also extract petroleum in the Yakutskaya region where the temperature in winter reaches 60° below zero and where the winters begin in September and last until June. Pipelines in the region carry oil and gas to Novosibirsk. Omsk, Kuibyshev, Ufa, Saratov and further west towards the fuel-hungry free world. The link is somehow incomplete: petroleum is extracted elsewhere like the Tunguska river: the names of these places are self-explanatory: Diavol'skoye, which is Russian for the Devil's place. All these islands are part of the Gulag archipelago where innumerable prisoners labour.

The Death Railroad

In 1945, right after the Second World War, the Soviet Union started to build a railway of some 4-5,000 kilometres in length, starting in Tashkent in the Irkutsk region, skirting the Bodaibo goldfields, north to Lake Baikal and on to Vladivostok. This railroad is of great importance, strategically and militarily: it runs parallel to the border with China, although somewhat set back from it. While it was under construction the Soviet press never breathed a word about the work which was done by prisoners. Today, part of the railroad has been completed, and the sleepers rest upon the bones of thousands upon thousands of prisoners. In 1975, civilian workers took over from the prisoners and it was announced that this work had been done by Komsomol: the authorities were so proud that they showed part of it to delegations from fraternal parties coming to applaud the marvellous achievements of the Soviet Union.

Thus on the steppes and in hundreds of camps, work continues on the death railroad and the building of several cities. Amid blizzards, at least 40° the prisoners are sent out to work: women too, have this hardship inflicted on them.

The atrocities borne are still being borne by the victims of the Soviet State employed in the accomplishment of this great labour know no bounds. Hunger, cold and all sorts of torture and oppression may be seen daily in the construction of the death railroad. Amid such desperation, some detainees tattoo their foreheads or cheeks with slogans like Slave of the USSR, Brezhnev's slave, death to communism, slave of the KGB and so on.

The Soviet press never misses an opportunity to sing the praises of this great achievement. We quote from the magazine Rabotnika No. 3 from 1976: "In the construction of the B.A.M. from Bashkir, across the Urals, over the turbulent rivers of Mount Inzar, we are going to lay down a railroad from Chismi and Belotersh -- a women's brigade working on the route. They are Raisa Stepura from the Ukraine, Masha Markelova from Moravia, Tania Igoshcheva from Rudia, Amina Ibatulina from Bashk and their commandant Anna Kateva. The temperature hovers between -30° and -40°. Neither they nor the icy winds have prevented the women's brigade from finishing their work before the date set out in the 5 year plan."

It would be hard to be more cynical. Poorly clothed, hungry women are building a railroad under the close supervision of the KGB and Soviet propaganda describes it as construction by a communist vanguard.

But the Soviet propaganda does not draw the line at such ignominious procedures. There is also a lot of talk about the smiling children of the USSR, and their grinning pictures adorn the papers and appear in manifestos. Meanwhile there are children in that country suffering and dying in the concentration camps.

35 years have passed since the survivors of the Nazi extermination camps were liberated. How long before the gates of the Soviet camps are flung open? (An extract from a report by the Centre for Investigation of the Jails, Asylums and Concentration Camps in the USSR).

Russia: One Big Concentration Camp.

Camps	in the region of
15	Azerbaijan (Caucasus)
25	Khabarovsk
24	Kazakhstan
21	Irkutsk
33	Krasnodarsk
40	Krasnodar
20	Sverdlovsk
13	Perm
20	Latvia
17	Moldavia

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THE MYTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY: Marxism & Christianity

The revolutionary party is a myth of the twentieth century. It has never existed. The theory dates from the (imaginary) success of the Bolshevik Party in making the Russian Revolution, since which it has dominated Marxist thinking. As a result of (what was in practice) Lenin's counter-revolution, the myth of Marxist Leninism has been propagated by a huge and growing university industry throughout the State Communist countries and overflowed into every university in the rest of the world. It is the subject of theses and comment as economics has replaced theology as 'Queen of the sciences' and capitalist economics and Marxist-Leninism are reiterated endlessly without any questioning of their main hypotheses. In examining the basic tenets of Marxist-Leninism we must first however notice that the set of events on which it is based did not happen in the way they are interpreted at all. The conclusions drawn are false and based upon false premises.

In this respect we may well compare the 'old' and the 'new' revelations of Marxism and Marxist-Leninism (they are not identical; and the surprised discovery by philosophers of the essential difference between the two) with the 'old' and 'new' testaments of Judaism and Christianity.

Judaism, like Marxism, claims to be based on an infallible and unalterable Law (in the one Divine, Scientific in the other). This Law is immutable and has very little relations to current problems. Hence it encourages a vast degree of comment and interpretation — Talmudic on the one hand, Scientific Marxist philosophy on the other.

The Talmudists will argue endlessly as to what the Divine Will is on particular subjects. They claim no direct connection with the Almighty as Christianity does, and therefore base themselves on what the Law says and how previous scholars have interpreted it. E.g. a pious Jew might be concerned if his sons can play football on Saturdays. The Lord omitted to say anything explicit. Working is prohibited which would exclude professional football (but could one see it if one did not have to pay to enter?) — and how does this affect amateur football? Is it 'work' or 'innocent pleasure'? Rabbi This might argue one way and Rabbi That the other. Their arguments might be finely based on precedent and inevitably tortuous. Is not

study and prayer permitted which to some might be, in this day and climate, arduous work, and not the pleasure it was to a previous generation? It is easy to see how the subject affords endless discussion, argument, the possibility of schism, the reliance upon an educated, professional body of casuistical learning. (Rabbi, in fact, means teacher; the teacher is not the equivalent of a priest.)

Marxism has appealed to many scholars of a Talmudical bent; Marx himself indeed came of a line of Talmudists though one need not attach too much importance to this. The arguments of Marxism follows the establishment of a Law for Marx never established a party. Marx's law is supposed to be scientific and immutable and successive generations of Marxist scholars have tried to interpret all events — from beekeeping to trade unionism, from ping pong to war (as in China today) — in the light of the Law. The scientific law proclaimed is the inevitable transition from feudalism to capitalism to monopoly capitalism to socialism. This is Marx's own theory, his special contribution to science (and not any descriptions of what socialism is or how it can be achieved). The current trend to find 'Marxist play and rights,' Marxist analysis of sport, or labour organisation, based on the need to reconcile these different activities with an immutable Law.

This is not to say that the Law is necessarily wrong — at any rate all the time. Marx's analysis of the development of capitalism from feudalism is sound — it was based on hindsight. It does not follow that his analysis of the development into socialism was right and history is still proving him wrong. He thought that monopoly capitalism would grow to the point where — because of increasing poverty among the proletariat — it must inevitably be taken over by the latter. This has nowhere occurred (the Leninist myth asserts it *has*). Nor is the Law of Moses necessarily wrong. 'Thou shalt not kill.' What could be a grander injunction? But the adherents of the Law do not consider it means what it says. A plethora of considerations makes it practically worthless and everyone knows that in practice such an all-sweeping commandment is incapable of fulfilment though nobody admits it in principle, therefore a multitude of amendments and interpretations surround it. As for the lesser

commandments — not coveting one's neighbours donkeys or asses — or the bewildering variety of dos and do-nots in Deuteronomy, the authoritative tone presented as coming from God himself, swept away argument without settling anything; to create confusion and misunderstanding for a thousand years or more. (Since a man is not prohibited to marry his niece, can he do so? Yet it says plainly a woman may not marry her nephew).

Christians are not bound by the 'Law' the last quotation for instance is left to the priesthood, though in practice all their hang-ups and inhibitions derive from it. A practical necessity of the Jews, for instance, was to increase and multiply being a small people in the middle of a highly susceptible country surrounded by enemies, with plenty of room to expand. Hence they banned all practices likely to diminish the population — e.g. homosexuality — and increased respect for the marriage bonds — unlike the Greeks who, in a barren country, wanted to keep their numbers down and took the reverse view. This has dominated legal thinking to this very day, about 2000 years after it has ceased to matter, and is the essence of the Judaeo-Christian laws that cause the reactionary laws of today (and the hyper-reaction to them too).

Similarly, in the new revelation of Lenin, Leninists are not bound by the scientific law of Marxism. Russia was the most reactionary and feudal country hence it could not be the one to have a revolution according to Marxist laws (and some sects of Marxists hold that therefore it did not happen). Leninism rejects this as Christianity rejects the mosaic Law; but at the same time utilises the law to buttress its arguments.

Lenin, as the apostle of the 'new' religion, like Jesus (if the comparison is not too startling) begins by rejecting the rule of the scholars and just as Christ rebukes the Pharisees so Lenin castigates the Social-Democrats with whom he shared common beginnings and a common faith. Both Christianity and Leninism are based on a set of events which are supposed to have happened. If these are historically false, then they are materially false. The discussions about whether the historical events of Christianity really happened are well known, the new myth of Leninism less so. Lenin claims to have

actually carried through the revolution. He did it by means of a revolutionary party arming itself with the historical truth. In fact, was this the case?

The revolution in Russia was carried out while Lenin was sitting in a Zurich cafe. Tsarism regarded as unshakable and symptomatic of entrenched reaction was swept away long before any of the Bolsheviks saw Russia. They returned due to the astuteness and doubledealing of Helphand Parvus. Helphand was a Marxist scholar of the old-school whose connections with the Marxist social-democracy in Poland and Germany were intimate; he was the chosen associate of Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky (who picked up from him the theory of 'permanent world revolution'), as well as of the reformist section of German social-democracy which had entered the Imperial Government service during the war. But he had previously defected to become a major capitalist entrepreneur and so a sought-after commercial adviser of the wartime German Government. With a foot in both camps he conceived a brilliant triple stroke — to rescue Germany from a Russian offensive and enable it to concentrate on fighting the West; to give a boost to State Communism to which he still owed ideological support; and to make a fortune out of speculation on the collapse of the Eastern front. This could be done by bringing Lenin back to Russia and equipping him with the money to float a major well organised party that would take over the government and bring Russia out of the war.

It succeeded brilliantly so far as two of the projects Helphand had in mind were concerned, though for the Imperial German government it proved to be only one more nail in the coffin. It is to Helphand one must give credit for the success of Lenin's counter-revolution. It was a counter-revolution not a revolution. Control was largely in the hands of workers, peasants and soldier soviets. Lenin's achievement was to make those soviets subject to party discipline.

Other Marxists such as Trotsky only came to accept this party idea at the last moment. They had clung to the older party as long as possible. When they saw the well equipped new party carrying all before it — able to buy and subvert police and soldiers — they joined it and proclaimed the Bolshevik Party as in effect a new religion, that of Leninism, or as they called it misleadingly, Marxist-Leninism.

As was said of the New Testament, what was new wasn't true; and what was true wasn't new. To justify itself, Leninism quoted the old Laws of Marxism which they had superseded. The party had the right to suppress all other parties because it was the party of the working-class. Capitalist parties had suppressed the workers; now through the Party the workers would suppress the capitalists, and while the state was 'young' and surrounded by capitalism, it had to assume dictatorial powers. The state is now 'old' but the new laws are seemingly eternal. The 'scholars' were substituted by a priesthood. It was no longer a question of interpreting the Law. Someone had come who was greater than the Law. The priesthood, or the party, had the right and duty to interpret what He would have done in any given circumstance.

As He lived in a particular time with particular historical events happening, these became the point of reference of everything. To this day the 'Samaritans' (through a misinterpretation of a particular parable) are assumed to be good; the Pharisees bad. To this day Leninists — basing themselves on Lenin's attitudes to contemporary events, largely dictated by the civil war — give the priestly replies as to how the Godhead would have reacted, and judge movements of today on his judgment of them fifty years ago.

This question of a revolutionary party was dubious. Marx never conceived the idea of a party taking over the role of salvation like a priesthood. He envisaged the scholars controlling the mass party but looked on the party itself rather as Lenin looked upon the trade unions. In the context of today the concept has become increasingly ridiculous because of the multiplicity of parties.

In the first place the Trotskyist movement broke from the Communist Party, though basing itself on the same texts. This was in one sense the split between those who clung to Marxist 'talmudism' with Leninist 'priesthood,' and those who held that the priesthood has the sole right to determine how matters should be run thereafter. But this one schism has caused others well known and highly comic to some, a major tragedy (in their ultimate result) to others. The division is threefold:

(1) Moscow line: the revised Stalinism (2) Maoism; and its many splits and counter-splits: the old Stalinism sometimes interlaced with Bolshevik pre-revolution dynamism and sometimes with a total rejection of all Marxist dogmatism as against Leninist dogmatism (3) Trotskyism, in its 57 varieties. It is pointless here to discuss the many divisions. But that there

are divisions everyone knows, and this itself makes the revolutionary party outmoded. Lenin's theory was based on the fact that there could only be one working class party . . . in defiance of the palpable fact that he had split from the main party (but that had sold out to the bourgeoisie). In Leninist terms, the one party had the right to suppress all the others because these were bourgeois parties. But what if there were more than one Leninist party, each able to outbid or undercut the other?

The answer to that was in Portugal, where the Communist Party was within an ace of seizing power. But it was outflanked by its rivals, as it is nowadays at every turn. Yet not one of them can ever take power because they too will be outflanked by yet another. Another accommodating Helphand Parvus cannot be found to put one in power and then let it reason with hindsight an argument needing guns to back it.

Granted that the so-called revolutionary party has no future in any revolution, does it have any purpose at all? If it is trying to get power for itself, one can see its purpose. If it is seeking to nourish certain intellectual leaders and build an artificial leadership that may eventually hope to be taken seriously by a real following, then one can see the point; but this does not amount to more than a confidence trick. It is undoubtedly true that people of a given political (or any other) tendency have the right and the pleasure to group together in one body, but why a party?

It may well be true that the deficiencies of the anarchist movement in the past has always been in precisely the opposite direction. One writer has ingeniously argued the tyranny of structurelessness (though there is a greater danger of tyranny of tyranny). Without a party structure one can have the domination of the loudest voice, the worship of orator, demagogues or writers, reliance upon 'militants' as distinct from all others and so a drift into a situation where hierarchy and bureaucracy having been thrown out of the door creep in through the window. One is also wide open to penetration by other people who do have a party when one has a body which has no leadership. It is unfortunately impossible to say decisively that all problems are solved if one does not have a revolutionary party. But on the positive side it has no purpose beyond domination, and it should be recognised as an evil.

Generations of 'revolutionary parties' in Britain have achieved only one thing: the almost total alienation of the working class from what was once the working class movement.

Albert Meltzer.

reader's forum

The State of the British Worker

The working class of the world are a recognisably large grouping. But not every head is turned the same way in a group; some are taller than others, some fatter than others.

With this said, I want to analyse the state of mind of the British working class, who are all I can begin to understand. I cannot speak for Dutch, German, French, Spanish or Italian workers. I am an intellectual, university-trained in philosophy; my mother was a cook-housekeeper to the gentry and my father was a joiner. This is mentioned both as a credential and as an explanation of my standpoint.

What is a British worker? Is it the drunken oaf who assaulted me in a dark street last month, claiming I was a 'bloody trouble making Red'? Is it the grossly obese unemployable who gazes sadly at me from a park bench as I go by? Perhaps the smart young gasman who came to check a leak, manipulating complicated gas chromatograph meters to do so? The fat, longhaired cow-eyed postman? Hairdresser?

Perhaps the BW (British worker) can be defined negatively, by saying who isn't one. My doctor is not a BW nor is the policeman nipping past now in his police car, nor is my greengrocer. In the pub the barman is, the landlord isn't.

What about my dentist? He works, man... standing on his feet all day like a hairdresser, working amid bad smells as a sewage worker does, blood as an abattoir attendant does... He doesn't earn as much as an oil-rig worker - and he's a fervent Communist too. Yet if a dentist is to be considered a BW the whole concept of a grimy working class collapses into fatuity. Only *logical* fatuity, however. For the BW is plainly to be seen and heard and contrasts sharply with the non-BW throughout the State.

Indefinable, like the colour yellow, the BW exists as the colour yellow exists; *there!*

It is tempting, being a philosopher, to go on to argue by analogy that this gives grounds for saying the BW is simple and fundamental as yellow is, and that therefore non-BW types are complex and derivative. But if logic is to survive it must cease to be Aristotle's Logic and become Asian, dialectic logic, the pattern of growth, not hair splitting.

What is the present state of the BW? Unemployed (1.7 million); employed (6.3 million). Housed reasonably; aid above mere subsistence whether in or out of work. Politically invincibly bourgeois liberal even when socialdemocratic, anti-communist, anti-fascist. That is, if you bother to ask

and he bothers to reply. He is also anti-capitalism, anti-employer, anti-police, pro-prisons, pro-hanging, pro-trade unions... In an evening's conversation he can be trusted to reject communism, accept Socialism, reject capitalism, accept property, reject fascism, accept restricted immigration and stronger police power... When these possible inconsistencies are pointed out, he becomes bored or aggressive, wanting to eat, drink, fight, watch TV, passively observe others playing football or fornicating.

Not because the BW is a fool. He is alive to his own interests but cannot devise a safe method of grabbing all the goodies the left and the right proffer him without dropping those he is already holding, and without strings being attached to the new ones. He needs to be taught: either that the political goods he holds aren't good, or that if he follows a certain political technique he can inherit the political kingdom of plenty which has every good possible, or that some goods are more satisfying than others and we of the left know where they are stored. But it is not possible to undertake the subtle prolonged dialectic required to guide him to a commitment on one of these alternatives, in a pub!

So the BW remains apathetic, which is a pessimistic way of saying that the BW doesn't know what to do for the best. And as long as the beer, cigarettes, chips, football and TV flow, there is no incentive to formulate opinions guiding to the best.

What else can one expect? The only opinions the BW has are the only ones possible, those gleaned from school, books, papers, TV, radio... and we all know who puts the cheese in these traps! The BW parrots in 1978 what the Russian worker parroted in January 1917. Whether the BW is to experience an October depends how feckless the rulers become.

Those who should know better prattle on about the 'reactionary swing' of the BW as if it won't turn into a 'progressive shift' when the weather improves. They exclaim over the obvious tactics of the State Press as it splits the employed from the unemployed by referring to the 'overtime greediness' of the one and the 'malingering laziness' of the other. But both drink in the same pubs, side by side. Hopefully they build revolutionary card castles out of arraignments of top politicians, inflationary trends, sporadic bombings in London and Ulster, protracted strikes... But the exact economy of Britain creaks slowly, steadily on.

What comrades who talk like this fail to assess is the *heart* of the British working class. It is despondent, depressed; it is lost, culturally and politically. In material terms, compared to the Third World it is a great beast that has everything; in spiritual terms it has nothing. The ancient antithesis used to be between choosing to be a happy pig or an unhappy philosopher. The BW lacks even these uneasy alternatives - he is a very dismal pig. The strategy is obvious. A myriad of tactics needs devising to make him even more dismal! Only when the BW thinks 'Anything is better than this!' can we offer something of our own - a cause.

What precise form that cause will take is yet beyond us. "Everyman - three acres and a cow" almost cracked the Iberian Peninsula in 1936. But the BW is irreversibly a proletarian, not a land-loving peasant; both want control over personal life-style, but the life-styles diverge. The Right to Work campaign is already sinking without trace after being in existence for a year, mainly because the employed aren't interested and the unemployed have swallowed the State line that it is the fault of the unemployed that they are so.

Depression takes different forms, but it is virtually a fact of working class life in Britain today. Adolescents vandalise and fornicate indefatigably; adults send the nation's bill for alcohol soaring; every other marriage immediately heads for divorce; the irrational in speech, dress and manner proclaim the animal within the BW struggling madly to get out and *live!* Only the rising crime rate shows that some class health exists.

All that is needed to ignite this social explosive is more of the same, followed by presentation of a simple cause. 1979 is going to be an interesting year on our island... almost as interesting as 1980 will be!

L.H.

FRIENDS OF
CIENFUEGOS

badge



See Page 2

prisoners

COMRADES SINGLED OUT FOLLOWING GARTREE RIOT

Comrades Phil Ruff and Malcolm Simpkins were among two of the prisoners quickly hurried away from Gartree Prison and singled out for special charges following the riots at Gartree on October 5th when the inmates of A and B Wings demonstrated against the use of depressant drugs on inmate Michael Blake.

According to the official report of the riot "... the desperate plight of eight officers trapped in a wing of 85 inmates, including those mentally disturbed and dedicated anarchists, should not be underestimated." Almost as if it were irrelevant the report goes on to say that the staff were allowed safe conduct out of the block with no personal injury to them despite reports of threats to cut one officer's throat.

The official report goes on "... a confirmed anarchist and dangerous psychopath got hold of two steel bars, used for weight lifting, and these were used by the two men to wreak havoc in the corridors."

Phil Ruff has been transferred to Durham Prison, Durham, where he now faces four charges arising from the demonstration: "... did not go to his cell when ordered to do so, (2) was in unauthorised possession of an officer's uniform cap (3) did attempt to do gross personal violence to P.O. McCordle by throwing a steel dining tray at him (4) did smash windows on the ground floor of B wing."

Malcolm Simpkins, with only eight more months to go on his sentence (like Jake Prescott they have taken away almost all of his remission), has been charged with various offences relating to the demonstration, but in addition he faces the extremely serious charge of "incitement to mutiny" and may well be tried by an outside court. Malcolm is at present in Leicester prison.

Should they be victimised as a result of their parts in the demonstration we shall consider a campaign to prevent that happening. In the meantime we would ask our readers to drop the two comrades letters of support and solidarity at their respective prisons. We'll try and present a fuller account of the demonstration in the next issue of Black Flag.

JAKE

Some who read our article on Jake Prescott in the last issue of the Flag may like to contribute to a testimonial to this outstanding fighter when he eventually comes out of jail. He has lost most of possibly all his remission and it will probably not be until next year. Some comrades in Leicester have already started to collect something as a "coming out" present.

In the case of others who were tried and some sentenced at the same time, (all but him having been released months since) he had no family to stand by him and he will have nothing when he comes out. It is a fine idea of Leicester's to build up a coming out testimonial - and we understand others elsewhere are going to offer him a holiday and so on.

Jake has led a struggle inside prison which is something any libertarian could be proud of. He will almost certainly be victimised when he comes out and there are certain elements out to get him.

We at Black Cross have some cash in hand which was earmarked for Jake - including £5 from two other prisoners, Noel and Marie Murray. We are opening a bank account.

A New World in our Hearts



The Faces of Spanish Anarchism

Edited by Albert Meltzer



PHIL RUFF

No Comment Required

The following letter was received by Cienfuegos Press from the United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, United States Penitentiary, Illinois 62959 along with returned material sent to comrade Lorenzo Komboa Ervin. We have had much material returned from other prisoners in different parts of the US, and it now seems to be Dept. of Justice policy to isolate all anarchist prisoners by refusing them access to anarchist literature.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed is the booklet "The Angry Brigade" which was received by this institution for Mr. Ervin 18759, an inmate at this institution. The Incoming Publications Committee is returning the above issue to you for the following reason. The article on page 1 has as its main theme organisation and unity of inmates against correctional institutions. This philosophy guides individual inmates into situations which can cause themselves and others problems with the posted regulations of this institution. Additionally this type of material on institutions has a tendency to develop an adversary attitude by inmates towards staff which can cause an unhealthy environment in this institution. This type of attitude is detrimental to the good orderly running of this institution.

If you wish an independent review of this decision, you may write within fifteen days of the above date to: Regional Director, North Central Region, K.C.I. Bank Bldg., 8800 Northwest 112th St. Kansas City, Missouri 64153.

We appreciate your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

R.L. Williams, Chairman
Incoming Publications Committee.

The Faces of Spanish Anarchism,
£1.75 (+25p p+p).
Free to C.P. subscribers (available
Feb. 1979).



feminism/italy

ITALY: THE PERPLEXITY OF THE 'HISTORICAL FEMINISTS'

(cont. from last issue).

Roman Diary (II)

In Italy as in France the women's movement finds itself in a period of uncertainty and self-questioning. How to move forward, how to avoid being trapped in political allegiances which may not necessarily be in the interests of women, without at the same time turning their backs on the political situation? "To fight on our own ground" is what many Italian feminists want; but they also know that their hard-won terrain is at risk of disappearing altogether with the emergence of authoritarianism and violence. This raises a number of questions about the development of the women's movement as a political force and about its possible links with other forces.

Having heard from the young autonomists of Gazza Ladra, we turned to the 'historical' feminists, as the 'old hands' in the movement are called. Manuela from Rome is a member of the women's publishing collective. To her mind the present situation demands that the feminists re-think their methods of activity and give pride of place to the struggle within the family, even if this struggle involves arguing at a level of awareness, she says, below that which some women have achieved.

Lea does not disclose her point of view. "Authoritarianism doesn't change our struggle," she says, "it makes it more difficult." A return to what she calls the "old political categories" will not advance the struggle of women. Lea is a member of the Via Col di Lana collective from Milan, one of the 'oldest' and one which has done important work on women's sexuality and the unconscious. The economic process is not decisive, the struggle against sexual oppression is just as vital. The Via Col di Lana collective, incidentally, is the only one to have issued a statement on the abduction of Aldo Moro, which we quoted in the first article: "Women do not intend to submit either to blackmail, or to terrorism, or to the institutions which have constantly oppressed us."

'Spreading the consciousness that resists oppression.'

Manuela: "In the present situation in Italy — where we find ourselves caught between terrorism and the authoritarian state — political separatism threatens to become a consolatory separatism. For it is impossible to speak about separatism if the means to define political autonomy are no longer to hand. Separatism cannot simply consist in women uniting together, that's meaningless when what we are looking for is a method of building the political autonomy of the women's movement, that is to say, developing our own analysis of every aspect of life in Italy. This does not mean that we must immediately state a position on the kidnapping of Moro or the terrorism of the BR. No, to my mind the urgent problem facing the feminist movement consists in understanding that there is one institution where women can either maintain or overthrow authoritarianism, and in understanding how they can fight against the turn towards authoritarianism taken by the State. This institution is the family. What is the present situation in Italy? On the one hand, the BR, on the other, the increasing authoritarianism of the State, with the young people's movement in the middle. Some of them have got killed, as in Milan.¹ The mother of one of the youths who were killed phoned a free radio station in Milan. She didn't say, "Mind and keep your children at home because the fascists are killing them," but she did say, "We must find these murderers because young people can't go on risking their lives while they're fighting for their ideals." That's something very different. It means that women tend to identify themselves more with the rising generation and less with their husbands, even if they aren't explicitly feminist or conscious of their own oppression, particularly their sexual oppression. So at the moment autonomy for the Women's movement means a more thorough analysis of the way in which authority is handed down in the family via the mother. Society is in a state of tension at present because it's no longer certain that women will continue to manufacture the patriarchal consensus within the family.

So we must go further along the road leading to the destruction of the patriarchal nuclear family. In that event it would effectively cease to be the institution which props up the authoritarian state, as it still is today. If women had refused to have children and shield men from their social anxieties during the fascist era, fascism would never have been able to make an impact. So today it is important to spread to as greater number of women as possible the consciousness — I won't call it feminist — that resists oppression. It's a level below that which we as feminists have already reached, but it does mark an advance on what the State and the workers' movement continue to demand from women, wives, and mothers. That is why struggle at the private, family level is central and revolutionary."

Do you think that mother in Milan was reflecting an awareness that is common to all women or is she a special case?

Manuela: "I don't think that's the average position of Italian women, especially not working-class women. But I think it's an important symptom of the change that's been brought about by feminism in Italy. For the last 6 months at least the feminists have been at the centre of attention in Italy because it's the only movement to have 'caught on.' That gives women an identity and makes them aware of what's happening in politics and society. Of course that does not mean that they automatically enter into a struggle against the authoritarian family. And working-class women are probably the most conservative. But 85% of Italian women are confined to the home and the greatest contradiction which they experience is not that of work but that of maternity and 'invisible work.' At present they have to choose between solidarity with the 'emarginati' or solidarity with a husband whose image is continually becoming more and more tarnished. To my mind it's highly unlikely that they would choose solidarity with their husbands. This is the really big achievement of the movement of '77. I don't want to be an optimist but I think there's a lot of evidence to show that the introduction of an authoritarian state will not pass off peacefully and with the complicity of women. And if feminism were to disappear from our society's political spectrum, women would be threatened with no longer having a place to identify with instinctively, even those of them who are not feminists or who see feminism as bourgeois, but who nonetheless feel the benefit of its effects. At the present



moment the feminist vanguards must sustain a discourse which is within the political understanding of the greatest possible number of women, even if that marks a retreat from the level of consciousness which some of us have attained."

Is the movement capable of this?

"In that it is a movement with a broad social base, the answer is no. But on the other hand I believe that an underground women's resistance movement is organising itself and the magazines, the working-groups, the spontaneous organisations represent only the visible tip of the iceberg. That's why I am in agreement with every collective initiative which gets off the ground, even if I don't always share its political line. It has to be added that some feminist 'intellectuals' are trying some of their own initiatives in with existing political or trade union structures like the '150 hours' campaign.² This allows them to reach a considerable number of women, and astonishing as it may seem, even to us, the women's movement is developing, quantitatively at least; in the FLM (metal workers' union), for example, there is a very considerable number of feminist collectives. That's the Italian magic . . ."

Footnotes:

1. Manuela is referring to the deaths of Fausto and Laio, two militants belonging to the extreme left who were killed on the night of the 19-20 March. 100,000 people demonstrated at the funeral.

2. '150 hours': period of job training for housewives and unemployed women corresponding to the value of 150 hours of paid work.

Authoritarianism doesn't change our struggle, it makes it more difficult.

Lea: "The distinction between separatism and movement autonomy is an ambiguous one. Some comrades think of separatism as a means to attain an end, autonomy. This approach marks a return to an outmoded concept of politics, means/ends. It could be said that in Italy women's separatism has been in existence for a long time: we have a long history of organisation by women, in the political parties and unions for instance, but because these women have been able to unite with each other for a long time does not necessarily mean that they have a praxis that is specific to women. To me separatism is the possibility to express our diversity for the first time, to abandon collusion with men,

and to awaken women's interest in and love for other women, analyse relationships between women . . . So to exist as a woman isn't enough to have 'female preserves' inside the existing institutions, for example a few pages in a newspaper or a couple of hours on the radio each week. 'Women have carved out areas for themselves in male preserves but that doesn't mean that they necessarily use them to express a woman's point of view. When it comes down to it I don't really think that this presence alters anything very much. For example, there was an article written by a woman in connection with 8 March which was addressed to the 'token woman' in Manifesto, in which she wrote, 'Feminism is a way of looking at society which men find disquieting.' An article like that doesn't disquiet anyone, but on the other hand when women have submitted an article on young people and drugs which says something different to what is normally said, when women tried to talk about those things as women, the article was turned down. And they would only publish short extracts from the article we wrote about terrorism and the State."

Do you think that the present political situation has affected women's struggles?

"Some people think that with things as they are the feminists will have to lay aside certain of their analyses and viewpoints. That, I think, is to fall back into the old categories of vanguard/mass, the old categories of militantism and bolster up the educative function. Well, feminism has put a question mark against militantism, the relation of those in the know — the vanguard — to those who don't share this knowledge — the mass. There isn't one set of concerns and problems for the vanguard and another for the mass. In my collective we have from the beginning been looking at sexuality, its relation to culture, to writing. Some people thought that elitist. Then after several years the analysis of sexuality came to be considered central. Women who aren't 'intellectuals' can be very good at talking about their sexual oppression, or about culture; in the '150 hours', which we talked about a lot in the small groups, I didn't see any contradiction between the work on writing I was doing in my women's group and my discussions with women who work as housewives, for instance.

"Women's needs cannot be defined from the outside, by saying that questioning the role of the family as an institution

is of more importance than questioning the role of other institutions. While we're looking for an answer to authoritarianism it's important to keep in mind that the institutions, including the family structure themselves on something that goes deeper, the sexual oppression of women, the negation of their sexuality, the man/woman contradiction in a patriarchal society. To accept the family as a basic structure means to want to find an institution for women that is equivalent to the one workers are in, that's to say, the factory and the struggle against capital. I don't agree with this approach. The shift of the State towards authoritarianism cannot change our struggle, it simply makes it even more difficult. We can't enter into a logic that proposes primary and secondary contradictions, since it is the totality of institutions which we must continue to attack.

"What is disturbing and disquieting is not the image of feminism presented by the media or even by some demonstration or other, but that women in their everyday lives are beginning to alter their praxis depending on whether they're in the family or at school in the factory or in the union . . ."



In our next issue: CAMBODIA TODAY: the truth about the war and revolution in Indochina

This series of articles, on the feminist movement in Italy, will be concluded in the next issue of BLACK FLAG.

THE BRIXTON DISSIDENTS

THE ARRESTS

Iris Mills and Ronan Bennett were arrested in their flat in Bayswater on 24th May. News broke almost immediately with 'shock' headlines in all the papers of 'bomb factories', 'anarchist cells' and the emergence of the 'new Angry Brigade.'

On Saturday 27th May Iris and Ronan appeared in Marylebone Magistrates Court where they were charged with 'Conspiracy to Cause Explosions' and remanded in Brixton prison. In the meantime more 'shock-horror' headlines appeared in the press of 'cars fill of bombs' and 'booby-traps.' This hysteria was deliberately created by the police to prepare the public for the raids to follow.

The instant publicity given to the arrests was in complete contrast to the usual police pattern when a person is held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), normally people are held incommunicado for anything up to a week.

In a later raid on a house in North London Dafydd 'Taff' Ladd was arrested. The other occupants of the house were also arrested and taken to the local police station and held under the PTA. They were questioned, photographed and fingerprinted, and had all 'rights' denied to them while at the station. The questioning revolved around how they knew the people who had already been arrested, but concentrated mainly on anarchist ideas and why they held them. Taff appeared at Marylebone Magistrates Court on the following Monday when he was additionally charged with 'Conspiracy to Cause Explosions.' The reason for charging him was due to the fact that his fingerprints were found in Iris and Ronan's flat. A whole series of raids then followed, both in London and elsewhere. The next person arrested was Stuart Carr, a friend of Taff's who was also charged with 'C.T.C.E.' In the meantime, a Support Group had been formed, Persons Unknown, and Vince Stevenson was arrested on 4th July on his way to a Support Group meeting. In the midst of even more 'shock' headlines, this time of 'anarchist cell hit in arms raid' another comrade,

Trevor Dawton, was arrested. Both he and Vince were charged with C.T.C.E.

Although the police said in court that they were looking for more suspects, no other arrests, other than the regulation holding of people who were raided under the PTA, took place after this. Raids however, did continue. The intention of the police being to collect as much information as possible on the libertarian left and the anarchists.

The weekly appearance at Lambeth Court were extremely melodramatic with the defendants appearing in handcuffs, and Iris being escorted by two policewomen, but it soon became a complete farce; a kind of 'court theatre.' Armed police surrounded the court while inside, A.T.S. men were present in the public gallery while searches of the public attending the court took place. Defence lawyers had their private papers examined when coming to court, and the magistrate refused to do anything about it. Harrassment of Support Group members took place outside the court each week, with members being arrested

on petty charges such as obstruction. Bail continued to be refused for the six and there were protests by the five men about Iris's prison conditions. This led to scuffles in the dock and assaults on them by the police both in court and down in the cells.

A good example of the police's harrassment of the Support Group members happened outside the court when one woman was taken away to a local police station and asked for her name and address. When she refused to give it she was threatened with detention under the PTA and gave in. When the police learned her name they realised they had made a mistake — she wasn't even the person they wanted. They then let her go and picked up a German woman and held her for several hours. They said she was being held because of an un-paid fine from the previous year. She was released when another member of the Support Group paid the fine for her. This arrest happened

Continued →



despite the fact that she had already been raided and held, and the warrant for her arrest had never been served at her home address.

The six were all arrested through association. The fact that the ATS was cut in January from 200 down to 30 officers meant they required some arrests to show that they were doing their job, particularly as there has been no IRA activity in this country for some time now. Their slogan seems to be: if you don't have any terrorists then you must create some. This is what the police are deliberately trying to do with the six. As England has no RAF, the police want to make one and the anarchists are usually the first scapegoats.

The fact that no evidence is produced in court each week and no explosions have taken place, except by the fascists, seems unimportant to the police (and to the various magistrates). No one has been arrested in connection with the fascist bomb attacks. The only evidence produced by the police has been two cans of weed-killer and two packets of flour and sugar (wholewheat flour) found in Iris and Ronan's flat. The bags of sugar and flour were returned to Iris when she got bail. Reasons given by the police for refusing bail each week were that there were more people at large, that the defendants would interfere with witnesses (to what?) and there were also dark mutterings about armed robberies. ID parades were staged at Paddington Green police station on 19th and 20th September, but these parades failed to establish any grounds for new charges and the police's case was looking thinner and thinner.

PRISON CONDITIONS

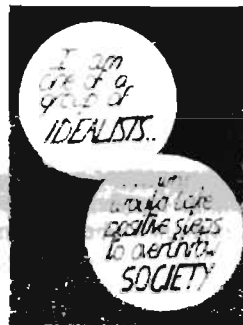
While the six all have 'Category A' status, Iris was the only female in an all-male prison. This meant that she was even worse off than the men. Her conditions amounted to solitary confinement and women screws were brought in from Holloway to look after her. The police claimed that Iris was too dangerous to go to Holloway. Her visits were monitored with almost paranoid intensity. All visits took place in a small room while two women screws remained in the room for the duration of the visit and censored her conversations, particularly when Iris talked about prison conditions. A table was put between Iris and the visitor to ensure there was little physical contact and no privacy at all.

Khloud al Mugarbi, a Palestinian activist, joined Iris in Brixton after Iris had spent several months in solitary. The disadvantage of this was that the time allowed out of her cell was cut from 8 hours a day to 5 hours.

On 15th August there were reports in

the evening papers about a gun being found in Brixton and the prison was closed to visitors that day. No gun was found, of course, but it meant stricter security, cutting down on the food allowed in for prisoners and cutting down on books. Association time for the men Cat. A (top security) prisoners was cut to 2 hours, and Iris was strip-searched twice on that one day. These measures were later relaxed after a protest by some of the prisoners.

On 15th September Astrid Proll was put in Brixton with the other two women. This led to more attempts to induce paranoia by the prison authorities and was used to maximise security when visiting any of the three women. The prison authorities seem to do things by whim rather than by rule. They bring in security measures one week, then take them away the next and think of even more ludicrous ones for the future. Apart from the routine of the metal detector and leaving your belongings in a locker, once Proll was admitted visitors were searched and a book was produced which had to be



signed by the visitor when coming in and again when leaving, in addition to the usual forms. Now there were three women in Brixton, conditions became worse. Because only 2 of the 3 were allowed out together at the one time one of the prisoners had to remain in her cell. Time out of the cell was cut from 8 to 5 hours when Khloud came and then down to 2 hours per day when Astrid Proll arrived. Iris commented that she hoped no-one else would come or they might as well throw away the key! Just when all these conditions seemed to be causing a strain on Iris, she was given bail, and is now allowed to visit Ronan. As Iris is not the dangerous person the police have tried to make out, it seems so incredible to think that she suffered such terrible conditions because of the police's power to convince magistrates and the Home Secretary that she was.

PRESENT TIME

On 28th September Trevor was given bail after ID parades failed to establish

grounds for charges other than those he already faced. On 26th October Iris was given bail. In court on 9th November the charge of 'Conspiracy to Cause Explosions' was dropped for Vince and Trevor.

The police attempt to establish a terrorist group in England and to make the six an example to the left is wearing very thin with these latest events. In fact, one wonders if the IRA had a campaign on in England if the six would have been arrested at all! Northern Ireland is always a testing ground for measures later to be introduced to the U.K. The treatment reserved for the six workers is usual only for Irish prisoners. The extensive use of the PTA, originally brought in to combat the IRA, is now used against the left generally — not for any genuine desire to bring 'culprits' to 'justice,' but to gather information. As Britain doesn't have a constitution, laws are made by precedent, and when confronted by something like the PTA, we can see only too clearly that we don't have any rights at all. The police are using the Conspiracy Laws to extend their powers. Their demand to have the right to hold suspects for up to 72 hours would only legalise what they already practice. Since the PTA was brought in about 3,000 people have been arrested under it but only 11 have been charged!

All the police questioning when people were raided and when Iris and Ronan were arrested, related to their ideas, about anarchist groups and anarchism in general. Iris was told that the case against them was a political case and the police would use their ideas. The fact of whether any of the 6 are innocent or guilty is irrelevant. The case will be fought and won or lost not on guilt or innocence but on their political ideas and how much hysteria can be generated in time for the trial. On 6th November the Privy Council granted the courts the new power to remand prisoners in custody in their absence in Northern Ireland because of the prison officers' dispute. The comments of Roy Mason that those lawyers angered by the new power were representing the IRA — which shows the attitude of the State and its ministers to the continual erosion of 'civil liberties.' If the 6 are convicted the State will have the perfect excuse to push through all the repressive legislation it's got in store for us without even suffering the inconvenience of a 'real' terrorist group

continued →
on page 17

ROON 'N' ABOUT



AN ISOLATED CASE

When Frederick Challis was convicted of the manslaughter of a tramp — 55 year old Alfred Shaftoe — he told of 300 other offences in which his victims were “stabbed, razored, clubbed, punched or kicked.” Defenceless alcoholic Shaftoe was battered with “bottles and brick, ‘put the boot in’ and finished off with a heavy cylinder” by Challis and his accomplice John Burke — both 19 years old. When they had done for their victim “Challis used a rag covered in the dead man’s blood to scrawl a National Front slogan on a nearby wall.” (*East Ender*, 14. 10. 78).

This received little or no publicity in the national press. Challis was only a psychopath, wasn’t he? But it was not an isolated case. Asians have been killed; bookshops fire bombed; negro families attacked or their windows of their homes broken, or their homes entered and ransacked while they were absent; thugs rushed out from the new National Front headquarters with pickaxes to attack the public outside. But that isn’t “terrorism” according to our national press. These people aren’t “fascists” or even “racialists”, they are just (at the most) hoodlums or psychopaths and the fact of their being members of the National Front or similar organisations quite irrelevant — by the standards of our prostitute press.

Just compare this treatment by the press. to say nothing of the police (let alone the Anti-Terrorist Squad which is not in the least concerned with this activity), with the attitude towards a libertarian found with some flour, some sugar and a small tin of weedkiller. By virtue of the fact that they are libertarian and not authoritarian they are automatically held to be criminals and moreover the whole libertarian movement is under attack.

“CONSTRUCTIVE ANARCHY?”

The journalist works in clichés because working under orders to produce the appropriate description for an occasion their minds run in a regular groove.

Any literary journalist reviewing a book on Anarchism will seek the Marxist

criticism (‘petty bourgeois’ deviation, utopianism) and rewrite it, hence the cliché ‘the gentle anarchists.’ In reviewing John Quail’s book in the Sunday Times, Julian Symons predictably talks of the ‘gentle warriors of British Anarchism.’

But how about current affairs? The news editor will seek sensation and turn to the Fascist criticism of Anarchism as a dangerous conspiracy consisting of criminals. So in the case of the five anarchists arrested recently we have been treated in the press to ‘cells,’ ‘Conspiracy,’ ‘about to raid London,’ and all the rest of it.

Yet sometimes journalists, especially travelling far from home and seeing novelty in what they might have found under their noses, and trying to write paradox; and turn from cliché to truth. Peregrine Worsthome in the Sunday Telegraph (Sept. 3) writes from California:

“The builders arrived at my friend’s house at 7.40 a.m., 20 minutes ahead of schedule, interrupting the family breakfast. By way of explanation the young foreman boasted, almost aggressively, that he was, of all things, an anarchist. ‘I sure hate to keep to the rules.’ Happy is the country, thought I, where anarchy takes such a literally constructive form. If only British workers could be persuaded to demonstrate their bloody-minded contempt for the boss by turning up for work early rather than late.”

There are two attitudes prevalent among Anarchists in California or anywhere else in the world including under Mr. Worsthome’s nose. The one is to take full advantage of anything given out by the State, to drop out, to strike, to sabotage the system; the other in fact more common, is to be the most conscientious and thus not only make it difficult for the employer to sack them (how else did the CNT manage under the pre-Franco dictatorship?) but, especially in a craft industry, to show the employer is the thief, not the worker, by a conscientiousness on a job to the benefit of the consumer.

CHANT A SLOGAN

An article in *World Revolution* (No.20) sets out a “democratic repression in Britain” analysis, basing itself upon the facts revealed in the “Persons Unknown” case. It fully sets out the facts in a manner designed to attract maximum publicity for itself, as apparently giving support, while drawing a smug conclusion:

“The anarchist/libertarian milieu is so weak it has been unable to mobilise much support for the defence campaign set up in support of the Persons Unknown. This is not only a numerical weakness; it is an indication of the political weakness of the anarchist milieu. It is one thing to help your friends if they are in jail — workers do this all the time. It is another to mount a **single issue political campaign** for their release: such campaigns are instantly recuperated by the left of capital. The defence campaign around the Persons Unknown has been unable to break out of the logic of reformism and frontism on this issue.”

The implication is clear. Had the wise, sagacious, and popularly backed (!) *World Revolution* people been involved up for grabs, they would have been freed immediately. How?

“Jailed revolutionaries such as John MacLean were freed from prison by the action of thousands of striking workers, who demanded his release as part of the autonomous struggle of the working class.” That’s what they would have done. Unlike the support group which has been “unable to break out of the logic of reformism and frontism” not realising that any other course of action than that in the (not exactly accurate) case of John MacLean “boils down to demanding that the bourgeois state should stop using state terror, the very *raison d’être* of the state in capitalist society.”

The Harold Wilson Prize for Sincerity to writer M. Hayes, and let us see what he does if ever the State manages to penetrate those baffling series of post box numbers that make up the “international” that he represents.

Three members of the Tsui Fong Black Society were jailed in London for black-mailing a fellow Chinese for £3,000 and assaulting him. The prosecutor, Mr. James Robbins, said that the three had been running a gambling club and had been pressed for money "by members of a more powerful gang, the Wo Shing Wo." That may well be; but what Mr. Robbins did not explain to the court was that, however one interprets the word "gang", the Wo Shing Wo is a political organisation with identical aims to the English Conservative Party. It does indeed function in England as a criminal conspiracy, but its links with the Conservatives were not mentioned.

When you think of how much shit is thrown at libertarians with the "sinister links with foreign anarchists" that automatically (in police eyes) means a criminal conspiracy even where nothing criminal exists, this story is as revealing as the "police battle" at the headquarters of the National Front. After ten thugs had rushed out with axes and iron bars and attacked people in the street, the police actually took notice. They finally decided to break in and found weapons including a pitchfork, a pickaxe handle and "how to hit" instructions. They were careful to explain that "none of the party's leaders were involved" and — but of course — there was no conspiracy, not even to murder. When bookshops and other premises have been burned down or petrol bombed, no conspiracy has existed there either. But Anarchists can be held for months on end for "conspiracies" to cause explosions where none have occurred.

CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL RAT WEEK

The issue of Freedom (28.10.78) contains an article by one Alan Westall, previously unknown, who says that when he heard of the arrest of the comrades on the Persons Unknown charge — two of whom are indeed associated with the Black Cross — he was "inclined to dismiss it as Black Flag and the police force playing at cops and robbers again, and I know many other people who felt the same way."

Who are these finks? We suspect that they come from the pacifist-disclaimant milieu that at times claims to be within the libertarian movement, who constantly denounce Black Flag for things like "saying everyone should take up the gun immediately," and who therefore obviously never read it — but only know it's anarchist.

We were at first inclined to dismiss Alan Westall's comment as Freedom playing cop-outs and runners again — and many people felt the same way.

Glasshouse People

John Junor in the Sunday Express is 'fascinated' by the case of Astrid Proll. The public galleries may be packed with 'lassies throwing flowers at her' — but why are there 'no rallies in Trafalgar Square?' He suggests that it might be that they are holding back until it is established whether or no Astrid 'in true Teutonic fashion' kept a book 'containing the telephone numbers of her every anarchist contact in Britain.' (Sunday Express 5th Nov.)

The case of John Junor fascinates me. Can people be less readily identified throwing flowers from the public gallery in Bow Street than meeting in Trafalgar Square (a very rare event for libertarians)?

Junor has demonstrated frequently he does not know — had in correspondence has admitted he does not care to know — the difference between anarchists and any brand of marxists. But what is the danger he sees for others in anarchists' telephone numbers being in the hands of the police?

Could John Junor be transposing his own fears — which are justified — that his associations with fascism might be well known from his phone calls, to clerical workers in Fleet Street.

The late Randolph Churchill made a tolerable living for years suing for libel. He got more for being called a 'hack' than many a worker gets for a lifetime of arduous toil. There cannot be the slightest doubt that had two distinguished members of the theatrical profession, with right wing sympathies, been accused of organising violence when they had not, they would have received enormous damages.

The late George Robey had Nazi sympathies. An actress so accused him during the war and, though she withdrew apologetically before the legal sharks she never worked again.

Vanessa and Corin Redgrave were libelled by the Observer. It was agreed that the article was defamatory and substantially untrue but they are left to pay £70,000 in costs.

The case against the four members of the WRP was clear. They were told, in effect, by the court that they had no right to justice, and that class rule would be maintained — which they knew already. But as there is then no redress for libel what should the libelled party do? An even more famous actress, and politician than Vanessa Redgrave had one answer — Lola Montez with her horsewhip. Is that, what in effect, the court said?

Denis Healey's son Tim, a young married man, was interviewed by the

Evening News. Referring to his student days he said he was in France and "lived through their student revolution. There really were barricades. You were in danger of having your skull bashed in. It fed my hostility to the Establishment and at one level was very exciting. But when I saw the brutality unleashed against students by the French riot police, I began feeling somewhat sceptical about left-wing extremism. Up to that time I'd been more anarchist than Marxist..." (Nov. 14, London Evening News).

Doesn't it occur to you as passing strange that Ministers evidently know what Anarchism means — the Foreign Minister Dr. Owen claiming one day that the Labour Party owed a little to anarchism and much to Methodism — the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a position to learn from his son — a former Home Secretary (the late Herbert Morrison) claiming to have been converted to socialism by Kropotkin's Appeal to the Young — and even a Conservative Home Secretary granting a patent of nobility to the late Herbert Read without considering him automatically a criminal... yet the word ANARCHIST is enough to damn you when you stand up in court or are visited by the police or are questioned at the Customs ports?

Reported briefly in the Guardian (Nov. 17) and in no other national that we saw, was a report that a man who kept a 'bomb factory at the foot of his bed' and a list of targets was jailed for three years at Exeter.

Three years? Remember the hue and cry over the Stoke Newington Eight when they were similarly accused, that has not yet subsided all these years later. But they were libertarians, this man, James Tierney, was in the National Front.

Not only did they get ten — and the judge tried to make it fifteen in the case of one only convicted on the basis of having written envelopes — but when the women in the case were released for a few months earlier than their time the Press blew up in anger at such leniency.

Three years, with remission (who can doubt that the normal fascist will co-operate with warders?) is only a month or two less than the Anarchists got **who were acquitted on the charge.**

Mr. Tierney was only 'discovered by chance when the police stopped him late at night' — they weren't looking for him. A too-vigilant policeman found evidence of bomb making activities on him and perhaps associated the name with Ireland.

Why are the fascists favoured? while the left huffs and puffs at them in the main door the Government lets them come in by the back. The answer is not to ban them. It is to cease to favour them. It is to end the situation whereby membership of the National Front is a passport to leniency by the courts and prisons and a blind eye by the police that is better than a Masonic Lodge password.

The Black Liberation Army in the United States is a mixed ideological bag like the resistance movement in Germany: its dominating politics are Marxist-Leninism and it considers itself an armed force for the national liberation of African people in America. It also comprises Revolutionary Muslims and Anarchists — though for the most part it is "revolutionary nationalists and internationalist" as one protagonist of the B.L.A. put it to us.

We cannot take the same sectarian attitude to some movements as to others. Normally we would reject having any truck either with Leninists or with Nationalists, and Muslims too for that matter (with other authoritarian religions). But this would be a sterile position to take in regard to the Black movement in America. In the twenties and thirties there was a Black Anarchist movement that took a classical anarchist stand. They paid no attention to national origins. In the main one only found after years of correspondence that they were of African origin because one happened to see a photograph. They took no account of racial and national struggles which was an anarchistic attitude but which unfortunately isolated them from the majority of Blacks, though they were composed of sincere hard workers for the cause who suffered much for it.

The Black people in America are a people robbed of an identity and if this identity is supplied by Black Muslims or Rastafarians or any other brand of nationalism, this must be progressive in that it takes them further in recognising their position and role in society as a whole. It is this thinking that brings Anarchists into organisations like the B.L.A. though as a minority.

Members of the B.L.A. now in prison are developing a programme, just as are members of the German resistance.

A B.L.A. correspondent writes:

"The Third World nations, who (neo) colonised in this country has suffered centuries of imperialist domination of socio-economic and political-cultural genocides. Because prisons in the US are

deemed slave institutions as mandated in the 13th Amendment of the US constitution, it is determined that slavery in this country was never abolished, but rather institutionalised in the judicial process. Thus, we find the American prison population 77% Black and Third World people, who by their labour produce 1.4 billion dollars worth of surplus, of which the Federal and State government reaps the profits. Thereby, US prison system is equivalent to the 5th largest American corporation, in annual production . . .

Another issue, that must be considered is the fact since the end of the civil rights movement in this country, the political repression has tripled with the initiation of the (Cointelpro) counter-intelligence-program operations of the local police departments Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency etc., all of which operate to neutralise subversives or dissidents. Since 1968, thousands of political activists have been imprisoned, because of Cointelpro operations . . . The US prison system is seething with revolutionaries, and political activists.

Briefly this indicates the political foundation from which an Amnesty movement can be developed. Here in this country, we are establishing a national prisoners organisation, and once I receive all the necessary documents and information I will initiate a new national campaign in the prison movement which will have three primary issues to forge: 1) Repeal the 13th Amendment of US constitution; 2) Unionisation of Prisoners Labour; 3) General Amnesty for all political prisoners.

I would appreciate your assistance in your country to propagate our cause in Revolutionary Internationalist Solidarity, thereby broadening our base of operation, in concentrating pressure on the US in our drive for Amnesty . . . The US must be indicted

for its Human Rights violations in this country. Thus, our actions in the prison movement will provide the impetus from which this indictment will be sustained."

* Brixton Dissidents

in England. After the 6 who will be next? This is something the other left groups, who haven't given any support to the six because they are anarchists and therefore must be 'guilty' should bear in mind.

R.M.

The charge of conspiracy to cause explosions against the six comrades have now been dropped by the prosecution as the Attorney General has refused his fiat for them to proceed. However, in its place the police are now bringing charges of conspiracy to rob against all six accused, and it is on the strength of these charges that the case will go to court, probably late next year sometime. Meanwhile four of our comrades remain locked in Brixton Prison, and it is up to us to publicise their plight, try to get them out on bail, and to ensure that the political motivation of the Anti-Terrorist Squad be exposed for what it is.

For up to date information on the case, offers of support etc., write to Persons Unkdown, Box 123, 182 Upper Street, London N.1.



SPAIN

BLACKLEG UNIONS IN SPAIN

Explanation of the Spanish Labour Scene.

Before the war there were two independent trade union centres in Spain, the C.N.T., (anarcho-syndicalist) and the U.G.T. (socialist). The UGT operated somewhat as the TUC in Britain. It was centralised and reformist, supporting political action (though it was not a "yellow" union like the Catholic syndicates which were mainly employers' organisations). The CNT on the other hand was revolutionary and direct actionist, having the aim of workers control as well as being opposed to any parliamentary intervention. It predominated in Catalonia. Both the CNT and UGT carried on separate negotiations occasionally combining forces on particular issues.

During the Franco regime the UGT disappeared from the scene and the full force of repression fell upon the CNT which continued resistance within Spain.

The Communist Party was excluded from both the UGT and CNT (though in Catalonia it gained control over the Socialist Party). In the latter days of the Franco regime, the Comisiones Obreras were formed spontaneously (and semi-legally). Immediately the Communist Party, in alliance with the Christian Democrats, seized on them and took control. Now the organisation is Communist-controlled.

With the so-called democratisation, the fascist syndicates (which had taken over from the Catholic ones) were dissolved. They had been centralised and incorporated in the State machinery. Much, one may say, like the way the TUC is going. Though the non-fascist

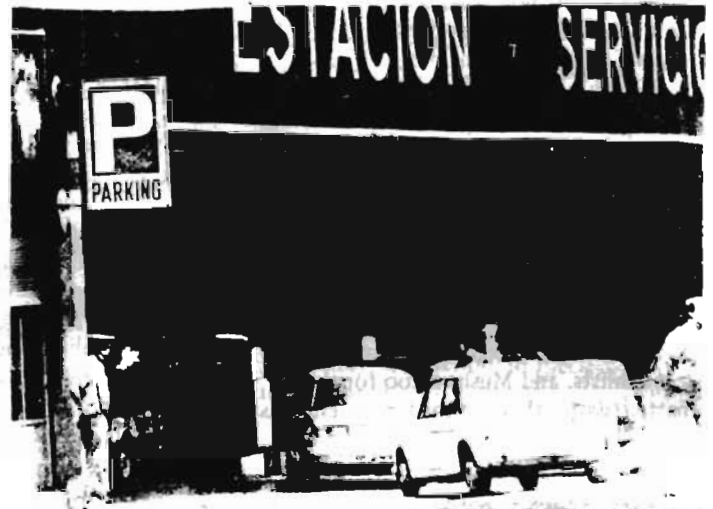
unions were legalised, they were not returned their property. Nor did they get back their old status. The UGT and CC.OO (Comisiones Obreras) were however built to enormous proportions with the aid from abroad, especially by British trade unions.

Currently, various political parties manifest themselves as trade unions (UGT, CC.OO, STV and so on) stand for election in the factories and were elected (as reported in Black Flag) by a ludicrously tiny percentage of workers. These form the negotiating committee for the working unit and this, in turn, sends representatives to the main body in Madrid, a type of fascist corporation cum TUC. The

PETROL THE WORKERS STRIKES

The petrol station workers have been on strike throughout Catalonia. The stoppage (90 per cent in the region of Catalonia, and 80 per cent in Barcelona) not merely for wage demands but for rights denied the workers.

The UGT and CC.OO moved quickly to negotiate for a settlement in Madrid. But this was not accepted by the petrol station workers, who mostly belonged to the CNT anyway and who were not prepared to accept the decision by this minority body over their heads against the wishes of the general meeting of workers. They went on strike on the 2nd September and at the moment of writing are still out.



Armed police protect the socialist-communist union scabs.

workers as a whole are expected to accept this as quasi-legally binding, much as the agreements made by the TUC are expected to be accepted by the British worker. (All this is the "Pact of Moncloa" — i.e. our "social contract.")

The CNT has declined to take part in these elections and advised a boycott. It holds, in accordance with its traditional libertarian views, that the workers have the right to represent themselves and that the union is merely there to co-ordinate efforts of factory councils.

A minority composed of UGT and CC.OO carried on work under the protection of Civil Guards and armed police. *These blackleg bodies are those called into being by the British Labour movement.* What do you think of that fellow trade unionists? After years of labour spouting about "the Spanish workers" calling an emotive response for the "help given our Spanish brothers" . . . this is what it was all about. Importing a blackleg movement to smash the workers' struggle. With added zest because it was opposing a union that notoriously hated communist dictatorship as well as fascist. *Never again allow a British labour or trade union leader to declaim about Spain without throwing in his or her face what the labour and trade union movement really does for Spain.*

Petrol workers could help by stopping petrol supplies to Spain. They should do so, but first all workers must get their priorities right: demand of their unions that they stop all subsidies to the blackleg unions of Spain.

SPAIN

Continued →



CNT hold a mass meeting of the petrol station workers.

International Libertarian Camp SUN AND ANARCHY

In view of the fact that anarchists from all over the world are making the trek to Catalonia these days — Barcelona is becoming somewhat of a 'libertarian world capital' we thought it opportune to launch permanent international holiday camps. Expenses can be at a minimum other than the actual journey itself, and an opportunity given for a real mingling of anarchists of different tongues.

For information only about the Costa Brava, contact Enric Tremps, Mas Trempat, San Feliu de Guixols, nr. Gerona, (Spain) — telephone 32-08-46. (English spoken). That way if you're making for the beach or one of the cities you won't be ripped off (the service is free) and he can give addresses in the Costa Brava where one can stay cheaply, if that's what you're after.

For those who want the sea, a second camp is being negotiated in Valencia, on the beach of El Cabanah. A comrade running a beach kiosk is negotiating for a camp eight months in the year to serve the various federations of the CNT and cater for international visitors too. The language problem may be more acute here (but anyone ingenious can usually find ways of communicating).

The organiser is: Angel Munoz Lopez (whom supporters of the Black Cross will remember as a prisoner under Franco) — address, Francisco Eximenis 19, Valencia. (This is a shop, his home address is No. 56 in the same street, fourth floor). Telephone 371 3947 (Spanish only).

Miguel Garcia.

On the 12th October some 2,000 veterans demonstrated in Barcelona for their pension rights. They included wounded of the civil war, Resistance veterans deprived of their pensions for having been imprisoned, widows and others who were deprived of their just dues for the crime of having opposed fascism when it was in rebellion.

The demonstration, consisting entirely of wounded, widows and other veterans, marched on Palace Square and Paseo de Colon, to demand of the Government the modest demand that the allotment of pensions be accorded to all irrespective of the fact that they fought on the defeated (and then legitimate) side.



The first camp is in Vich (in Catalan, Vic), which is about 30 miles from Barcelona. Vich is noted for its priests (more than anywhere else in Spain) and for the best salami in the world; but the camp is some twenty-three kilometres away (21 km from Vich to the local dam and a couple of km from it). It is a former sheep farm, being rented by young comrades who are at present cleaning and decorating (any help appreciated). It is in the mountains with clean air and very suitable for families and also for the athletic. There are all conveniences including electricity but it is a long way from the seaside (by car one could make a day trip). (Address to be given).



BICICLETA — REVISTA DE COMUNICACIONES LIBERTARIAS, Calle Nave, 12 - 2a, VALENCIA 2, SPAIN, 80 pesetas.

This is our sister publication in Spain, and for those of you who can read Spanish we would urge you to take out a subscription for this extremely well produced informative and imaginative anarchist journal. Write now with 50p for a sample copy to the above address.



On June 4th of this year the allegedly fascist "Warriors of Christ the King" visited the workshops and offices of the Basque Anarchist paper "Askatasuna." We say "allegedly fascist" because in fact the "Warriors" are not really a political unit but the rearguard of Franco's secret political police, and it is the regular police forces that contain this fascist element. The words "First Warning" were painted on the windows.

During the Festival of Bilbao (the "great week"), on August 24th, the entire premises were burned down by incendiaries. All archives, workshops, editorial premises, went up in flames. The destruction of "Askatasuna" was the first of a series of violent attacks by the rightist-police elements against the Basque popular organisations. While the Basque people were dancing and celebrating in the streets, there was one act after another of these provocations (which will not be described as "terrorist" by the world's press because of the links between fascists and police!)

The "commando" also set other buildings on fire including the TPE (Labour Party of Spain, a Marxist body) where one of them was badly burned by the blaze caused — named Ramon Dalmases. Here the Civil Guard detained four others of the "commando", Javier Irastorza (of Bilbao), Carlos Perez (of Barcelona), Areso Portell (of Tudela) and Jose Antonio Oliver (of Sabadell).

The material losses of the Askatasuna collective are high but the destruction of the archives — containing publications of the CNT since 1911 — a major and irreplaceable loss. 10,000 volumes perished including the only copies of volumes on the workers movement in the Basque country and on anarchism.

Continued on page 20



LIBERTARIAN PRISONERS IN SPAIN AS AT 16. 10. 78.

(All previous lists are superseded).

Modelo — Barcelona

Andres Mira Barnes (Awaits trial: member autonomous group).
 Vincente Dominguez Medina (ditto)
 Bernard Pensiot (French—awaits judgement)
 Francisco Javier Canadas Gascon (ERAT and CNT)
 Jose Ramon Sanchez Ranios (CNT; arrested in Sclaa incident)
 Alberto Henarejo (Petrol workers strike committee; CNT)

Trinidad — Barcelona

M^a Fernanda Fernandez Rodino (auton. groups)
 Concepcion Martinez Senor (ditto; awaits judgement)

Yeserias — Madrid

Virginia Cativiela Alfes (Auton. grps).
 M^a Teresa Fabres Oliveras (CNT; Sclaa incident).

Segovia

Antonio Cativiela Alfes (Auton.grps).
 Guillermo Gonzalez Garcia (ditto)
 Jose Luis Martin Diez (CNT, Scala incident)
 Luis Guillardini Gonzalez
 Ignacio Sebastian de Erice (auton.grps)
 Jose Cuevas Casado (CNT; Sclaa incident)
 Arturo Palma Segura (ditto)
 Luis Munoz Garcia (ditto)

Mislata — Valencia

Rafael Simon Gomez
 Fernando Garcia Morales
 Anastasio Rubio Bravo

Zaragoza

Jose M^a Cerezo

Valladolid

Martin Viruega Rodriguez
 Inocencio Jota Onechea Martinez
 Pedro Charrero Martinez
 Moises Magdaleno Alonso
 Fernando Mena del Rio
 Angel Antonio Busnadiago
 Alonso Morales Calvo
 Jose Ramon Cotera Diez
 Migeul Angel Munoz Montes

Alcala de Henares — Madrid

Victor Simal (French)

Ocana

Eugenio Asensio Nogues

Cordoba

Fidel Manrique

Gerona

Francisco Asensio Garcia
 Nicolas de la Heras
 Angel Moreno Patino



The warning. GCR (Guerrilleros Christo Rey — Warriors of Christ the King).

As can be seen most belong to the autonomous groups or the CNT. All were arrested in 1978, between January and now. None has yet gone to trial. Specific details are given where known to us. How to send aid direct: Write to us (A.B. C., Over the Water, etc) for details.

it is known that one of those who attacked Askatasuna, cut his hand. One of those arrested following the PTE fire-bombing had a similar cut. Two of those arrested following the PTE attack fit the descriptions of people seen lurking suspiciously near Askatasuna premises hours before the firebombing.

Askatasuna see the attack as an effort to silence themselves and other irritating leftist groups. Much of what has been destroyed can never be replaced. The September issue of Askatasuna is five times the usual run; the group hope that regular subscribers will help sell the surplus so that they can rebuild and continue.

Foreign subscriptions which should be addressed to Askatasuna, Apdo 1682, Bilbao, cost 1200 pesetas a year.

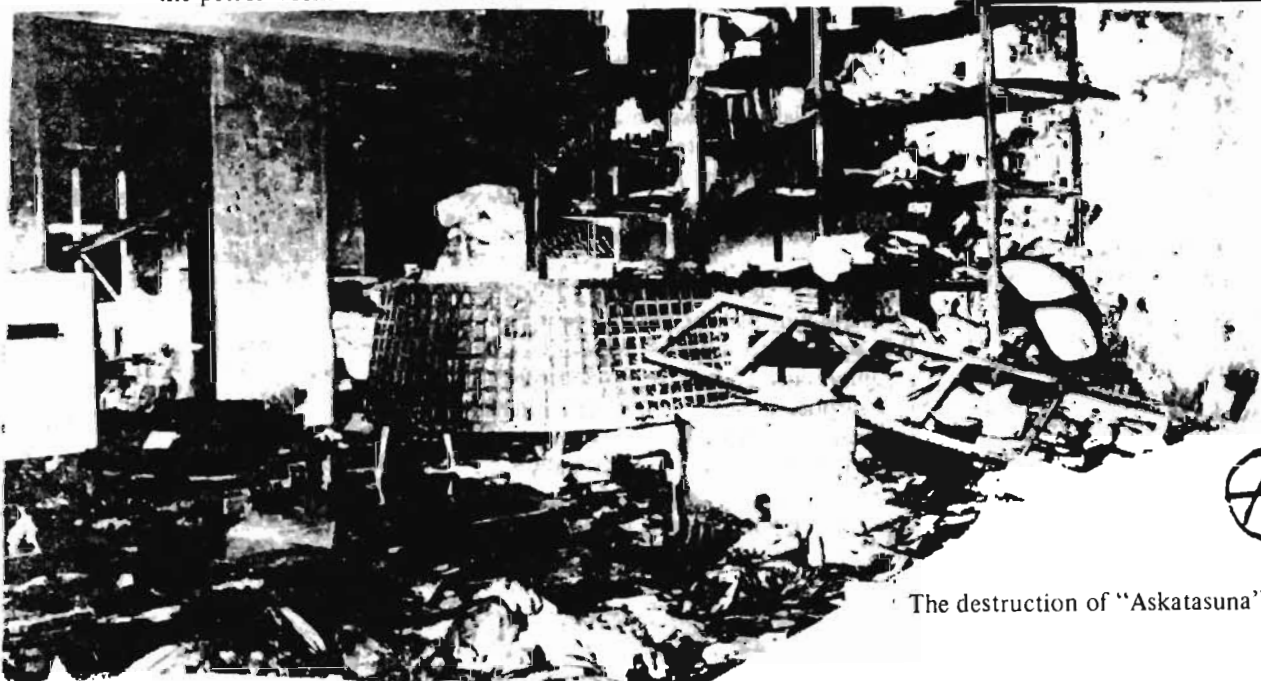
BLACK FLAG
 organ of the
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



The editorial work goes on! — in the street outside the burned premises.



SEAT Workers go out in solidarity with the petrol workers.



The destruction of "Askatasuna" 21

Answers to Quiz

1. In 1422 he founded the notorious Newgate prison, which lasted for 500 years of misery and oppression. On its site in the Old Bailey is now to be found the Central Criminal Court.
2. The ambulance men in Berlin were (in the early 20s) in the anarcho-sindicalist union (F.A.U.D.) and it was one of them who fished out Anna Andersen from a canal where she tried to drown herself. Later Anna Andersen maintained (at least fairly convincingly) she was the last of the Romanov princesses, Anastasia, who had survived execution in a series of spectacular court cases until the present day.
3. Innocent III established the Inquisition which punished heretics by fire and Bishop Otho is shown wielding a mace (burning people or breaking their bones doesn't shed blood!).
4. William le Queux, who later stereotyped the Prussian junker image during World War I as the "typical" German.
5. Dzerzhinsky was a member of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania who entered the Bolsheviks by invitation in 1917. Lenin realised he was also capable of being quite ruthless; and coming from the upper class of Poland he had contacts with the existing political police.
6. Fagin is modelled on a contemporary fence, but while "Oliver Twist" was being written Dickens quarreled with the side-wardens at the Houndsditch Church he attended (later he ceased to be an Anglican and became a Unitarian) ... one of them was Fagin, the other William Sykes!

Don't forget to get a copy of the Anarcho-Quiz Book, the handiest compact giveaway of light-hearted information since Chairman Mao's Little Red Book.

LETTERS

Feminism OK, Anarchism Zero

Zero magazine calls itself Anarchist/Anarcha-feminist. In many ways it has been a vigorous, exciting paper — we've had seven issues and I've enjoyed most of all of them — especially the little bits I wrote!

Yet was it comradely to print an attack on Anarchy collective in issue No. 7. I would say the item concerned was harmful to anarchism to anarchism in Britain — why couldn't internal petty squabbles be settled out of print?

"We think other anarchists should know about these incidents," says Zero about events that must clearly have another side to them. The actions as reported were not libertarian of those said to be Anarchy collective members — but nor was Zero libertarian when it called for longer prison sentences for rapists. Which would be more destructive — having a 'punch up' or locking probably imbalanced individuals in a prison cell? Zero's not gone pacifist has it?

I like feminism. I'm all for the women's movement. They'll say it's lip service — but I'm not sure whether a few members of Zero collective couldn't be paying only lip service to anarchism.

They'll print an atrociously ageist letter attacking comrades because they have 'long gray beards' and aren't with the latest fashion in trendy politics — Zero will, but no way will they conduct a real debate on sexual politics — I know, I've tried — but even though I may be an anarchist, I ain't a woman, so . . . only arse-licking men are allowed it seems, a few gays and that's fucking it.

I think sexual politics needs to be between men and women — I don't go along with mens groups at all, I like female company! I like gays as well, but heteros still need to express a preference.

So 'Zero', I know you won't believe me but deep in your hearts I think you know that if we're going to get anarchy we've got to be comrades, anarchist women and anarchist men. What comes first, the fact that a person is a comrade or that they're male or female? You ask: "What does the anarchy mean in 'Anarchy'?" It means without authority — male or female, without hierarchy — feminist or male chauvinist. But 'Zero' — what's become of the anarchy in anarchy-feminism?

Jerry Westall.

Dear Comrades,

I just received my first 'Review' (No.3) from Fifth Estate and am finding it very good, as so many have written already.

I didn't know until I read it on the masthead that you send it free to prisoners. So if that offer includes us prisoners overseas I would like to request a copy of No. 4. If not, let me know, because I can get together the price over a period of time, but prefer to use what money I get to buy literature that is not offered free.

Also I would very much like to get Nos. 1 and 2. But No. 4 is my first choice.

Strong Arm Prisoners Collective has recently been publishing a newsletter called "Antikrat". Our distribution is extremely small at this point, but when we get our outside help and money together, we may be able to fulfil part of the need in the U.S. for a prisoner-oriented revolutionary anarchist newspaper. So far we have put out a Feb., March and April/May issue averaging about 12 pages (one side only because its xeroxed). I was rather surprised to find that many of the people we managed to get it to really liked it a lot. (Fifth Estate is distributing the March and April/May issues in their bookstore). So we will likely continue it.

Also I wonder if you are familiar with the pamphlet quoted later in the article ("Unions against Revolution"), and if not maybe someone would want to review it. I found that pamphlet extremely enlightening — likewise John Zerzan's "Creation and its Enemies: The Revolt against Work," which was reviewed in the "shorts" section of No. 3 Review.

John Jesse Russo (AKA Chepito Garcia) and I are each serving a ten-year sentence on explosive charges. They claim that we were blowing up Safeway Stores, and "conspired to blow up certain government buildings and installations," though they have proved neither charge. They also claim that we were members of the Emiliano Zapata Unit.

Thank you for the Anarchist Review and all the hard work it entails.

Larry Kisinger.

Dear Black Flag,

I have long had the impression that B.F. opposed specifically anarchist organisations. So it came as something of a surprise to read that BF/ABC intends to form a more specific membership (No. 5, p.4). What is in store? Personally I doubt that the formation of yet another organisation will do much to remove the problems which surround us. Previous

attempts have had little success — what's so different now? Will it help to dispel the fog of apathy? Is it proposed that we set out on recruiting campaigns?

Best wishes to all,

R.E.

Comrades,

The Black Flag article dealing with "Computer Rip-offs" was brilliant. For many years I have recognised the guerrilla potential in computer "crime." Computer warfare would be most effective in the industrialised world, because the State, Corporations, even the secret police and military, depend so heavily upon computers for records storage and retrieval. The computer is not secure, and can be penetrated. Now we can find out who those Government spies and informers are and put the State on the defensive.

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin.

Greetings Comrades,

I was indeed glad to receive a reply from you. Although it was indirect — better yet intercepted by the administration — and all I received was a letter from the admin. saying that I couldn't have it because its contents would be detrimental to the security of the institution.

Many thanks to you for a reply though. And too, I hope that you all measure this reactionary act as a means of confirmation of positive minds accomplishing positive things.

I remain,

struggling,

Louis Mayo. 9912

P.S. Although I can't receive your literature any correspondence is desired.

Louis Mayo 9912, P.O. Box PMB, Atlanta, Ga. USA.

Louie Smith is still doing battle for human dignity while "in the box" in prison in the USA. He has been repeatedly and systematically beaten up by the prison officers because of his constant and principled struggle for solidarity and common decency. Recently after a set to among some prisoners he was singled out by the officers and worked over in the isolation units. Word has come out from him since then and his spirit remains unbroken. He greatly appreciates letters of support and is interested in what is being done in the struggle on this side of the prison bars. Letters of support and solidarity to Louie J. Smith, 75A2297, 135 State Street, Auburn, N.Y. 13021, USA.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

GREECE

Nikos Balis (see last issue) prison address:— Nikos Balis, Ward 7, Cell 31, Korydallos Prison, Korydallos, Piraeus, Greece.

It is sometimes claimed by Anarchists that no vote is a vote for anarchism. It's usually a bit optimistic, to say the least, but what can one say about the Greek municipal elections in October? Prior to the elections being held the Minister of the Interior warned that voting was compulsory, and abstentions from the ballot would be punished with terms of prison ranging from one month to one year (presumably according to the degree of political intent) and that offenders could be deprived of their car driving licence, their work permit and also refused a passport to travel abroad. (Another example of government misuse of documents supposed to be for the *protection* of people, used instead to oppress them).

Yet nevertheless the percentage of those abstaining was heavy, ranging from 25 per cent in Athens to 40 per cent in some provincial cities. While numerous others, unwilling to risk the draconian penalties imposed on non-participants in the democratic farce, either spoiled their papers or put in blank votes (up to 7,00 in Athens and 2,000 in the port of Piraeus).

This surely must be some sort of vote of confidence in anarchism?

ECUADOR

Three children choked to death as police evicted residents of a community housing project in a Guayaquil suburb. The police attacked the residents and burned some 30 homes in the Paln Piloto housing cooperative. The three children died as a result of asphyxiation caused by tear gas bombs thrown by the police into their home where they were alone at the time.

COLOMBIA

Two rival guerrilla groups have claimed responsibility for the shooting of former Minister of the Interior, Rafael Pardo Buelvas, in his home in September. A marxist-leninist group, the Committee of Worker Self-Defence, which has usually confined itself to propaganda activities, claimed the shooting in a communique, but so did the urban guerrilla group M 19. M 19 has carried out a series of lorry hijackings, distributing the produce to the population of Bogota shanty towns.

EL SALVADOR

Sporadic guerrilla warfare has erupted in El Salvador. At the end of August, guerrillas of FARN kidnapped a representative of the Swedish firm, Ericsson.

During September there were a series of bomb attacks, including one directed against the offices of the National Coalition party, which forms the government, carried out in support of the Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua. Two days later several police stations were bombed and a number of policemen injured, by the Peoples' Revolutionary Army, who also claimed the shooting of Judge Ricardo Avila Moreira, in November. Moreira was in charge of all "terrorist" trials in El Salvador.

GUATEMALA

Paramilitary bands fire on crowds.

The General Strike begun on October 2 in Guatemala city in protest over the rise in bus fares managed to paralyse about 60% of the city's economic activity, spreading to other parts of the country and developing into a movement with political and social demands.

Demands included the resignation of the capital's police chief, Colonel German Chupins, the release of political prisoners, the settlement of a number of labour disputes in various light industries and the withdrawal of the police from state sector offices.

They called for an investigation into the deaths that occurred during anti-government demonstrations and for the punishment of those responsible.

Meanwhile in San Jose, Costa Rica, the Committee of Solidarity with the People of Guatemala accused paramilitary bands of being responsible for the death of at least 20 people during the recent incidents. The committee revealed that individuals belonging to the conservative National Liberation Movement and to a group known as the White Hand (a paramilitary group comprised of policemen) had fired on the demonstrators.

Dramatic scenes of the murder and subsequent funeral of the Guatemalan trade union leader, Arnulfo Cisfuentes Diaz, and of the police repression were shown on Costa Rican television. Cisfuentes Diaz, leader of the telegraph workers union, was murdered in a car outside his house by individuals in civilian dress.

Costa Rican viewers saw the trade unionist's eldest son accuse the paramilitary bands — controlled by Guatemala's conservative political groups — of murdering his father.

They also saw large numbers of police armed with automatic weapons firing on a group of young demonstrators in one of the poor districts of Guatemala City.

At least 12 people including a child, have been killed and 300 injured in the course of demonstrations which have resulted in hundreds of arrests.

There have been attacks on luxury residential districts. In addition, a business belonging to the Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza was set on fire, and an armed action took place in the town of Fraijanes.



Armed police in Bogota

According to information received in Costa Rica, the town hall and the garrison of Fraijanes were set on fire by citizens outraged over the rise in bus fares. They were supported by some 15 members of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP). Two policemen were killed and three seriously injured in the action. Slogans calling for a people's war "against the fascist government" were painted on the walls of the town.

ITALY

Milan police arrested 8 people at the start of October, including Antonio Savino (28) who they claim is an active member of the Armed Proletarian Nuclei (NAP). Last year he escaped from the Forli Prison and was tried *in absentia*, and was sentenced to 4 years. Police claim that Savino was connected with the shooting of Genoa's public prosecutor.

The arrest came just a few days after a mutiny by political prisoners at Asinara jail, in Sardinia, during which all the political cells were virtually destroyed.

Corrado Alunni, who police claim was involved in the Moro kidnap, has received a 12 year prison sentence for "possession of arms and ammunition."

Police have variously claimed him as a leader of the Red Brigades, and as a member of *Prima Linea*, which on the evidence available seems to be a figment of official imagination, used as an excuse to arrest people active in a number of autonomous groups who are unconnected with the urban guerrillas.



Enrico Triaca

The Red Brigades suspect Enrico Triaca was sentenced in Rome yesterday (7/11) for slandering police and possession of arms. Triaca's sentence was immediately suspended, however, and police sources said they would continue to question the 30 year old printer about his connections with the B.R.

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Canada/Australia/NZ (airmail) £7.25,
US \$14.50.
Black Flag, Over The Water, Sanday,
Orkney KW17 2BL.

Italy has rejected Switzerland's request for the extradition of Petra Krause (38) because she is too ill to travel. Krause, who is under house arrest in Naples, was to have gone on trial in Zurich on November 27 on charges of bank robbery and raids on Swiss Army arms depots.

In spite of her ill health, Italian authorities have scheduled the start of her trial for a 1974 fire-bomb attack in Milan, that was subsequently claimed by NAP.

Silvana Innocenzi, considered by police to be one of the most wanted members of NAP, escaped from the Isle of Ponza at the end of September. She had been sentenced to 3 years for the possession of arms, and was suspected of having helped 5 other NAP members to escape from the Lecce prison.



Petra Krause

WEST GERMANY

Only weeks after German police shot down Willi Peter Stoll while he sat with his hands raised above his head, 26 year old Angelika Speitel was wounded after a shoot-out on the edge of Dortmund. During the shooting one policeman was killed, and 27 year old Michael Knoll was seriously injured. He subsequently underwent an operation for severe stomach wounds but died two weeks later.

Willi Peter Stoll

"I say yes to the democratic state but this society is without conscience. I want a life of social peace, socialist, without authoritarianism."

Angelika Speitel once worked in the Stuttgart office of lawyer Klaus Croissant and was active in the Committee against the torture of political prisoners. Police claim that she was involved in the preparations prior to the killing of Ponto, Buback and Schleyer. Michael was the brother of 2nd June Movement member, Peter Knoll, and according to the police participated in the killing of the President of the Dortmund Court of Appeal.



Angelika Speitel

Three days later Karin Aalbers (24) was arrested by the police in the Westphalian town of Bielefeld, accused by police of having contact with Willi Stoll, and of "supporting a criminal organisation."

Frankfurt police have arrested Christian Gauger (40) a high school lecturer, and his friend Sonia Suder, charging that they are members of the clandestine revolutionary cells.

Dutch authorities extradited Christoph Wackernagel (26), Gert Schneider (29) and Knut Folkerts to Germany where they face charges of complicity in the Schleyer and Buback affairs. As Folkerts is currently serving a 20 year prison sentence in Holland for shooting a policeman, his extradition is "only temporary!" The extradition took place 5 days after a group called "Opposition Rouge" occupied Amnesty International offices in Amsterdam in protest at AI's slow response to the conditions of isolation that the three West Germans were subjected to while in Dutch jails.

In November 11 people were arrested by German police after a crowd of 20 burst into the Frankfurt offices of the DPA press agency, in an attempt to telex a statement around the world on the conditions of Werner Hoppe and Karl-Heinz Dellwo, who have both been on hunger strike in German jails for over 6 weeks. The 11 arrested protesters who were charged with belonging to a terrorist organisation and other offences, included Wolfgang Beer, who has already served a 4-year sentence on charges connected to membership of the RAF. *Contd.*



Le Monde Libertaire recently reported on the plight of Werner Hoppe — In July 1971 he was arrested during a police operation that resulted in the death of Petra Schelm. In July 1972 he was sentenced to 10 years. During the 7 years of detention he has spent 4½ years in almost total isolation. He is normally exercised inside the prison building and is not allowed to speak to anyone. During the second part of his detention he has been allowed contact with one prisoner, for one hour a day.

As a result of this strict regime his physical and mental health has seriously deteriorated and he was moved to the prison hospital at Altona on September 4th. A solidarity movement has now been formed, to force the authorities to take the humane step of saving his life, by setting him free.

On the hopeful side, a new daily paper is being published by the "undogmatic left" (a loose libertarian movement involving the non-party, extra-parliamentary left). *Die Tageszeitung*, which is very similar to the French *Liberation*, produced a trial issue of 50,000 copies early in October.

Incidentally two workers on *Liberation* who were taking 800 copies of a special issue on the "German Affair" about the Schleyer suicide and the Stammheim deaths, to the Frankfurt book fair, never got there. German border police detained them en-route.

URUGUAY

The Supreme Military Court of Uruguay sentenced seven persons charged with being members of the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement to prison terms of three to 30 years. The president of the tribunal, Colonel Federico Silva Ledesma, said that Ismael Bassini Campiglia and Nestor Slave were sentenced to 30 years in prison.

Conrado Fernandez and Romulo Rodriguez Nassani were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

Felipe Slave, who was on parole was returned to prison for three more years. Gloria Etcheveste de Slave and Juan Serna were sentenced to 12 and 10 years respectively.

PERU

Peruvian newspapers have reported the existence of an armed murder squad, composed of members of the Peruvian army and police force, who under the pretext of combatting "subversion", kidnap, torture and kill. The latest victim of this vigilante force was a Colombian journalist, Rovertio Fanjul, who was kidnapped on September 12th. Rovertio was comparatively lucky, he was released after 8 days, although he had been savagely tortured.

ARGENTINA

A number of reports from Argentina tell of a series of police raids over the last 3 months which have been directed at the anarchist movement. In Buenos Aires about 15 members of an anarchist-marxist group 'Libertarian Resistance' have been arrested, and several more have "disappeared." Some militants have since been released, after torture.

Argentine anarchist groups have issued an international appeal for solidarity, reporting the arrest of two carpenters, Pablo Daniel Tello and Rafael Arnoldo Tello, on May 31st. Their arrest triggered a series of raids, resulting in the detention of about 20 militants, mostly workers:

Claudia Almeyda, Oscar Elichadde Urriol, Raul Olivera, Fernando Diaz, Herman Ramirez, Oscar Cantero, Elsa Martinez Rufino Almeyda, were among those detained.

BULGARIA

Earlier this year, the State released 6 anarchists from prison, and lifted the regime of internal exile to which Kristo Kolev Jordanov (67) has been subjected for 5 years. This action, however, has proved too liberal for the hardened arteries of the Bulgarian authorities, who have now re-arrested Kristo, while he was recovering from a spell in hospital in Sofia. His flat there was raided, and books and papers were seized by police, who have again forced him to live in the remote village of Balvan.

SPAIN

The building occupied by the anarcho-communist paper *Askatasuna* was attacked and badly damaged by right-wingers during the last week of August. Several times since the attack slogans of the notorious Guerrillas of Christ the King, have been daubed on the walls.

The attack, which was not unexpected in view of the enormous popular appeal of the paper, caused an estimated 5 million pesetas damage. Donations to *Askatasuna* can be sent via Black Flag.

SCOTLAND

The inhuman and controversial cages at Inverness Prison will not be closed down after all, and may well be in use again soon. The carefully designed isolation cells are supposed to be used for short periods only, and are designed to wear down the prisoners resistance — physically and mentally. (If you want to know more read Jimmy Boyle's "A Sense of Freedom.") As transfer to the "segregation unit" are expected to start soon letters of protest should be sent a.s.a.p to either the Secretary for Scotland, or the Home Secretary. Letters from other countries will probably be very effective.

DUBLIN

An amazing prosecution in Dublin led to a last-minute withdrawal of charges by the Gardai (police) and a victory for women's rights.

Marie McMahon is a founder member of the Irish Women's Liberation movement (and will be known to many of our readers for her work on the Murray defence). She was charged with 'loitering as a prostitute,' and described the prosecution as 'mental rape.' Even the conservative Irish Times pointed out that 'to bring a first charge of prostitution against any woman is to throw a very nasty slice of mud in her direction. To do so, bring the matter to court, ask for a postponement and then withdraw the charge is little short of unforgivable.' Why, it asks (as if one did not know the answer) did the Gardai bring 'such damaging charges against a woman who, it appears, was already known to the gardai in a completely different and wholly respectable context?' (Irish Times, Sept. 15).

Marie McMahon was arrested in the company of a 'known prostitute' whom she was helping to escape from a wife-battering husband. A gardai approached them in the street and was told to go away; the only evidence brought to 'substantiate' the charge was that she was alleged to have told him to 'fuck off' which was denied. (Imagine a man being arrested as a prostitute on that evidence! — even in Dublin).

USA

Emily and Bill Harris were sentenced to life imprisonment in October for participation in the kidnap of Patricia Hearst in 1974. On the advice of lawyers, and as part of a deal negotiated to prevent obstacles to their eventual parole, both Bill and Emily pleaded guilty to the kidnapping charge.

With parole they could both be released in 1983. Parole is also being sought by Patricia Hearst herself, who is in prison following a conviction for participating in an armed robbery that netted her a 7 year sentence. She has so far spent 18 months in prison, and is due for parole next July. The Hearst newspaper chain has been swung sharply behind a carefully orchestrated campaign for her release — a campaign that has not only resulted in a lengthy article in the Guardian, but also caused an unprecedented editorial in Rolling Stone, favourable to her parole, — something only to be expected after the treatment they gave the capture and early trials of SLA members.

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a statement by **bill & emily harris**

Today we take full responsibility for our participation in the first political kidnapping in this country — the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. We are entering guilty pleas to what the judicial system calls "simple kidnapping" but nothing about our actions today or those of four and a half years ago has been simple. So it comes as no surprise to us that our feelings today are complex — pride in affirming what our actions accomplished and what we learned from them; a very definite pain that 6 of our close friends died, Russ and Joe are in prison and the two of us will be separated from each other by years more in prison; a relief that the uncertainty of the past years is over; and a confidence in our combined strength to continue fighting for the principles we believe in — the right of all people to control their own lives and to be free no matter what the costs.

We participated in an act which removed Patricia Hearst from her home, her way of life, the people she knew and the privilege which had insulated her from the oppression that so many people suffer. Out of all the lies, distortions, exaggerations that have emanated from the Hearst family in an attempt to fool the public — one fact alone has been true. Patricia Hearst was kidnapped. She was *not* brain-washed, beaten, tortured or raped. She was *not* locked alone in a closet for days and weeks on end. She was *not* coerced into rejecting her family and remaining with the people who made up the SLA.

She was kidnapped by a group of 8 SLA members. Our politics had various origins — the prison movement, the anti-war movement, the women's movement — but all developed at a time when the Nixon White House was attempting to crush all forms of legal dissent through infiltration, surveillance, murder, break-ins, frame-up criminal charges. The 8 of us along with others in this country responded by translating our beliefs into illegal armed actions as a means to attack power and wealth. We were fully aware of the risks — death, imprisonment, failure — but we all felt totally committed to any and all vehicles of change that could propel us closer to uprooting oppression and realising a free society.

Our actions in 1974 forced the Hearst family to funnel 2 million dollars worth of food into the poor communities of California. The sanctuary of invisibility that the ruling class has so long enjoyed in this country was shattered. The source and

extent of the Hearst's wealth was exposed through the channels of their own media empire and put in brutal contrast to the poverty of millions of people.

At one time Patricia Hearst felt the same pride and self-respect as we did because all three of us saw the events of February 1974 as a coming of age — a leap in our understanding and growth. But since her arrest, she has never allowed herself the pride of confronting the truth and taking responsibility for actions she made of her own free will. Likewise her family and other members of the ruling class will never take responsibility for the oppression that the very existence of wealth and privilege makes inevitable.

A plea does not represent a bowing down to the state. It does not mean that we have been given any favours. We have *not* offered them anything. We have only made the pragmatic choice of accepting what they offer because, very simply, it's the vehicle by which we have gained control over the amount of time we will do in prison — the means by which we can be back on the streets the soonest.

Being tried on the State's terms according to their distorted sense of justice and fairness, we would have been found guilty of participating in the Hearst kidnapping. But the State's objective was far greater than demonstrating our involvement in that act — they intended to bury us alive under 13 charges carrying a penalty of life without the possibility of parole — a sentence that's been called the living death. Their objective was not grounded in the acts we were in fact responsible for but rather a desire to see our ideas — our revolutionary commitment — locked away for life.

Today we take responsibility for four acts which is translated into four and a half more years in prison — three more years beyond our present term. Within four-and-a-half years we'll be back on the streets where we definitely want to be. In this sense we have succeeded in forcing the state to back down.

Our plea today will allow us to speak out on our own terms about the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst — we will be able to share the truth as we know it about the SLA and Patricia Hearst's involvement. We will be able to openly analyse the accomplishments, the failures, the history, the context from our personal perspective. Many of these facts would

have come out in a trial but not on our terms. The arena of the courtroom wrenches events out of context, makes some admissible and some not and covers everything with the fog of unreality that passes for justice.

But why was the state forced to make these concessions to us? First, they had very real fears about the credibility of their key witness — Patricia Hearst.

They could not separate the truth from the lies and they knew we could. They were dealing with the unknown and we had the facts. Second and probably more important, the State has been aligned with the Hearst family all along — the State with its judicial system is in fact an arm of those who possess wealth and power. We believe the State was forced to back off its objectives in order to protect Patricia Hearst and the Hearst family. In defending ourselves against a sentence of life without possibility of parole, we would have torn apart the web of lies Patricia Hearst has spun ever since her arrest. We would have exposed how the truth of the conditions she lived under and her feelings about her family all fit together with her decision to remain with the SLA. The humiliating and devastating exposure of the truth would have proved to be a serious setback for the Hearst campaign to get Patricia Hearst released from prison immediately. Also, we would have pursued in the courtroom what the Hearst kidnapping only began — exposure of the Hearst family's history of greed, manipulation of public opinion, open advocacy of racism and championing of imperialist aggression throughout the world. We believe the so-called impartial judicial system was forced to negotiate with us because ruling class interests were at stake. Finally, the State "bargained" with us to save the thousands of dollars that our trial would have cost.

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gleanings

An Unexpected Advance

History has many ironies, not all of them unpleasant. Recent researches together with compelling arguments have shown the essential identity of the anarchist and feminist movements. What a surprise, therefore, to find the South African government of all people moving in our direction. They are about to demolish the black shanty town of Crossroads next door to Cape Town, put all the husbands in hostels, and return the wives and children to the tribal homelands.

At last the long suffering women and children of Crossroads will have some peace. Cases of rape have been reported; now these will end since the only men in the tribal homelands are too old. Also, some of the women have not had their aprons off for up to five years; in the homelands they will be able to return to their native costumes, to the delight no doubt of the tourists.

Some romantics will no doubt object. They point to the so-called self-help and mutual aid of the shanty town dwellers as some kind of anarchist thing and even go so far as to liken the whole of Crossroads to the working class quarters of European cities from which their beloved insurrections have been launched, or general strikes organised. These people have not learned the lessons of Paris, Prague, Gdansk.

Others will object on the grounds that the women and children have many of them never seen the tribal homelands which, somewhat uncharitably I think, they see as a device of

the government to make the South African blacks foreigners in the land of their birth. Such nationalistic thinking is unworthy of anarchists and quite opposed to the whole of our teaching.

Others still will insist that with all the men in hostels and their wives hundreds of miles away cases of rape will actually increase. But rape of whom? All the black women left in Cape Town will be servants and so safe indoors by dark, while their white sisters have long been prepared for such an eventuality.

Man o' the Movement.

The Socialist Book Fair — held in Camden Town Hall, St. Pancras, London — was a huge success with possibly two thousand people attending. A stall was organised by Cienfuegos and the anarchist presence made known somewhat to the dismay of one of the publishers of learned books on politics who felt that from our position on the stage we might spray the audience with machine guns for some unaccountable reason. It was a pity that the new Anarchist Reviews and the new books were not ready — missing it by only a matter of weeks — otherwise we would have been able to report a financially rewarding two days. However, numerous contacts were made not least with our own scattered but dearly loved tribe.

Bill & Emily Harris

We approached this trial with only the power of our revolutionary commitment and we enter our plea today on that basis. This same commitment by the SLA in 1974 forced concessions from the Hearst family in the form of food and access to the media. In 1977 the two of us forced concessions from the courts by using their own judicial system to fight for and win appointment of our own lawyers. Our plea today represents even further concessions on the part of the State. While they are forced to back off the brutal thrust of their objective, they are still in a position to extract a price — 4½ more years in prison for us. Like anyone, we experience doubts, pain, sadness and loneliness in confronting this but our feelings exist within a pervading sense of strength, knowing that "time" can't destroy the sense of freedom that's within us.

Valuable years of our lives will be defined by the cold reality of separation from each other, our families, our friends; isolation in maximum security (again a penalty for our ideas, not the acts we are convicted of), degradation of being treated as less than human; violence that spreads like a disease from the racist, sexist hatred of reactionary guards and prisoners. For us this will leave permanent scars but it's merely a short term loss while our gains are long term — the historic accomplishments of the Hearst kidnapping can never be erased and we will return to the streets as two strong individuals still committed to change. Ironically the State has only the short term gain of locking up our bodies while they extract their price. The long term loss will always be theirs because they cannot destroy us or the revolutionary potential of the American people.

Emily Harris
Bill Harris
August 31, 1978.



The Cienfuegos Stand at the Socialist Bookfair (Black Box Photos)

Elmer Pratt.

Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, 30 year old Black Panther member, was framed for murder in 1968, still languishes in San Quentin after spending nearly 7 years of his sentence in solitary.

Elmer was actually at a Black Panther meeting in Oakland when a woman was robbed and murdered 350 miles away in Santa Monica, but under the FBI's notorious Cointelpro operation he was deliberately fitted up. His lawyers and defence group have been successful in obtaining over 2000 official documents under the Freedom of Information Act, some of which indicate that he was under FBI surveillance at the Black Panther meeting. Pressure is being placed on the authorities for release of other documents which will definitely prove this.

Enter the R.A.T.S.

Should not there be some recognition by the government of the noble work of the "Anti-Terrorist Squad" such as renaming them the Royal Anti-Terrorist Squad? The name would express the gratitude of the State for such a vigilant body. The initials would express what everyone else thinks.

FRANCE

RADIO-TROTTOIR, a libertarian radio station operating in the Toulouse region, was subjected to a series of police raids at the start of October, with the result that 5 comrades are now facing prosecution. A defence committee has been formed. Contact: Gerard Blain, BP 3028 83 059 Toulon Cedex, France.

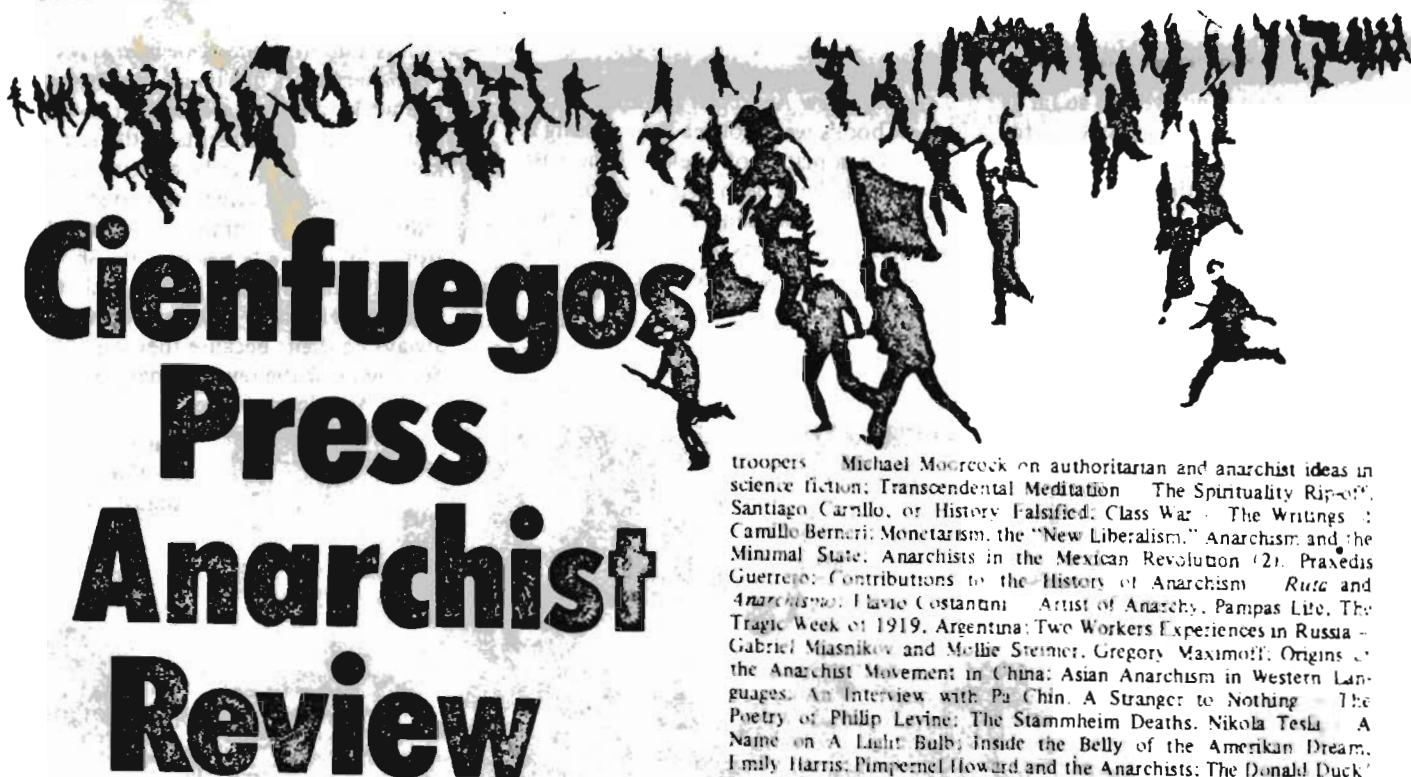
15,000 people held a "dead-in" as part of a large anti-nuclear demonstration held in Brest at the end of September.

In Toulouse, the former GARI members, and "autonomes" who are facing charges on possession of arms and attempted robbery (see last issue) and who the press claim are members of "an international conspiracy" were sent for trial on October 26, but the accused refused to speak or plead, and lawyers refused to participate in the proceedings in protest against the fact that they were supposed to be appearing in two separate trials at the same time, in different courts.

STOP PRESS!

We learnt to our horror on Thursday December 14th that the lorry carrying the main bulk of the copies of the latest Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review from London to Scotland caught fire during the journey. Although the driver stopped immediately he realised something was amiss and called for assistance - the lorry was in flames before any help arrived. All the copies on the lorry are believed to have been damaged. The only copies of the long-awaited review still in existence are those few copies sent to the London distributors. There will be a small number on sale at various bookshops but for most of us it means another wait!

Stuart Christie is already contacting the printers to start reprinting. The review is being produced as fast as possible and can be expected by sometime in February. All other Cienfuegos publications are unaffected.



Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review

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